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A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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Edited by

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FEDERICO DE ONÍS

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JOHN L. GERIG

with the coöperation of

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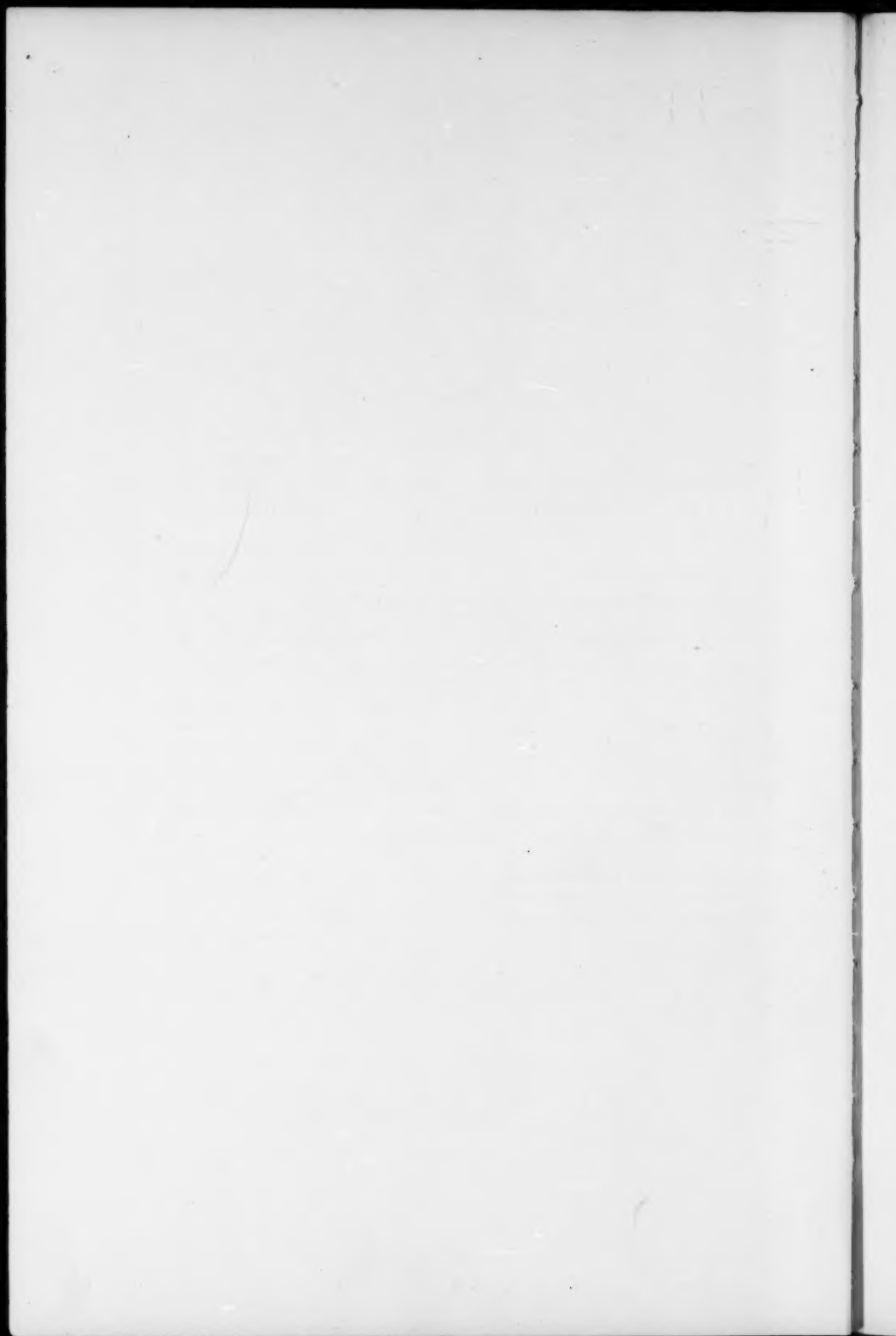
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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XV—JANUARY—JUNE, 1924—Nos. 1-2

THE JONGLEUR GAUTIER LE LEU: A STUDY IN THE FABLIAUX¹

NO more appropriate introduction to this study in the *fabliaux* could be found than the following page from Professor Lanson's *Histoire de la Littérature Française*:²

On n'aura pas de peine à concevoir qu'il n'y a guère de psychologie dans les *fabliaux*. Comme on n'y saisit pas d'intention de faire vrai, on n'y trouve guère aussi trace d'observation; quand le trait est juste, c'est d'instinct, par une bonne fortune de l'œil et de la main. Aussi n'y a-t-il rien de creusé, qui mette à nu les sentiments intimes et le mécanisme secret des âmes, ou si l'on veut, on n'y rencontre pas de types généraux, ni d'analogues exactes. Cependant une exception doit être faite pour deux *fabliaux* d'un certain Gautier le Long: *Le valet qui d'aise a mesaise se met*,³ et *la Veuve*.⁴ Dans l'un c'est le *type* du garçon qui vivant largement de son salaire, se met dans la misère en se mariant à une fille pauvre comme lui . . . Dans l'autre est détaillée la peinture que La Fontaine⁵ a ramassée dans l'admirable *fable* qu'il a donnée sous le même titre: le désespoir

¹ The author of this article would like to express his gratitude and thanks to Professor Sheldon of Harvard University and Professor Armstrong of Princeton University for valuable suggestions in connection with his researches. Professor Sheldon has contributed much toward the explanation of certain words and passages in the difficult text of the *fabliaux*. Professor Armstrong has followed the plan of the work and some of its ideas are his. Neither would agree with all of the ideas herein expressed, for which the author alone accepts the responsibility.

The article was presented in outline as a paper before the Romance Section of the Modern Language Association of America in December, 1922. Cf. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xxxviii, No. 1, p. xxiii.

² P. 104.

³ Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Recueil Général des Fabliaux*, II, 157.

⁴ Mont. et Ray., *ed. cit.*, II, 197.

⁵ Cf. *Les Grands Ecrivains de la France*, ed. Regnier; *Fables*, liv. VI, 21 and VII, 5. In volume II, p. 72 is a list of adaptations of this theme since Gautier.

de la veuve qui ne veut pas survivre à un époux chéri, l'indignation au premier mot qu'on lui dit d'un second mariage, l'insensible adoucissement du deuil, la renaissance du sourire, de la coquetterie, l'impatience enfin du veuvage sont nettement, spirituellement indiqués par le conteur; son récit un peu prolixe et languissant dans la seconde partie est dans tout le début d'une vivacité singulièrement expressive. Il faut se souvenir de ces fabliaux et du nom de Gautier Le Long: ces deux contes nous représentent l'introduction de la psychologie dans notre littérature et l'éveil chez nos écrivains d'un sens qui fera la moitié de leurs chefs-d'œuvre. Hors des deux singuliers *fabliaux* de Gautier Le Long, il ne faut chercher dans le reste du recueil que les qualités qui apparaissaient dans le *Roman de Renart* et qui se retrouvent ici à travers les mêmes défauts (prolixité, gaucherie, etc.).

In another passage of the same work,⁶ Professor Lanson reverts to the historical importance of Gautier Le Long and his *fabliaux*:

Il ne faut pas finir cette étude des origines du théâtre comique sans rappeler que certaines œuvres qui n'ont aucun rapport avec le théâtre, contiennent cependant des germes précieux. Je veux parler de l'imagination psychologique, du don de distinguer les formes générales des caractères et des vies humaines et de composer les actes et paroles d'un personnage en parfait accord avec ses sentiments. Ces qualités que nous avons trouvées déjà dans les *fabliaux* de Gautier Le Long et dans certains développements dialogués de Jean de Meung, apparaissent aussi dans le satirique *Miroir de Mariage* d'Eustache Deschamps.

What then do we know of this Gautier Le Long to whom is attributed the honor of introducing psychological treatment of character into French Literature? His name is not found cited in any Old French text. If we examine the table of medieval poets drawn up by President Fauchet,⁷ we find no mention of him. In fact his name first appears in print in the 18th century prose redaction of *fabliaux* of Le Grand d'Aussy⁸ where he

⁶ P. 198.

⁷ Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poesie françoise, rime et romans, plus les noms et sommaires des œuvres de CXXVII poètes vivans avant l'an 1300*, Paris, 1581.

⁸ Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux et contes des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1779, 4 vols., I, cvii.

figures simply as the author of *La Veuve* and "peut-etre du Forgeron." Imbert, an 18th century poet and contemporary of Le Grand d'Aussy, in the opening lines of his modern verse rendering of *La Veuve*,⁹ writes:

Gautier Le Long, qui dans son vieux langage
Avoit écrit maint fabliau
Nous a tracé l'histoire du veuvage;
Tâchons de rajeunir quelques traits du tableau.

Thereafter and down to the present day the name of Gautier Le Long has come to figure in most of the works which treat of medieval French literature. Le Clerc¹⁰ says of him:

"Le récit (*La Veuve*) de Gautier Le Long ne saurait être comparé aux deux fables de La Fontaine mais ne manque cependant ni de vivacité ni d'esprit." A. Dinaux¹¹ sees in Gautier Le Long "né dans le XIII^e siècle," an "originaire de l'antique ville de Tournai ou des environs." "Ce fait" [he says] "se révèle dans la seule pièce de vers qui nous reste de lui sous le titre simplifié de la *Veuve*."

Dinaux's chapter on Gautier Le Long seems to have impressed Schéler, for in volume XXII of the *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique* (1866), he publishes the text of *La Veuve* for the first time with the following caption: "*La Veuve, fabliau inédit de Gauthier Le Long, Trouvère Tournaisien.*"¹² Towards the end of his article, however, he says:

"Je laisse la question de la nationalité de Gaultier Le Long dans le vague où elle se trouve; la mention de Tournai au v. 336

⁹ B. Imbert, *Choix de fabliaux mis en vers*, Paris, 1788, 2 vols., *La Bonne Femme*.

¹⁰ *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIII, 64 f.

¹¹ *Les Trouvères de la Flandre et du Tournaisis*, Paris, 1839, p. 185. The name Tournai occurs in verse 336 of *La Veuve* where it cannot possibly refer to the author and where it may be only a convenient rhyme (tornai : Tournai). The superficiality of Dinaux's argument will appear, p. 187: La citation du bourgeois de Tournay, celle du nom de Baudouin qui n'appartient guères qu'à la Flandre, l'interposition de la commère qui vient donner ses conseils, prouvent assez l'origine toute flamande de ce vieux conte. Au reste, la ville de Tournay, berceau de la monarchie française et attachée dès longtemps au royaume des Lys dont les armes sont jointes dans son blason à la tour crénelée qui lui donna son nom, fut de bonne heure initiée aux mystères de la poésie romane et fournit un grand nombre de conteurs et de trouvères qui égayaient les riches châteaux du Tournaisis.

¹² A second edition by Schéler in *Trouvères Belges du XII^e au XIV^e siècle*, Louvain, 1876.

peut n'être amenée que par la rime, il est vrai, et n'autorise pas à autre chose qu'à placer la scène du fabliau dans les environs de cette ville. Cependant on est en droit d'inférer de certains traits du poème, surtout des nombreux noms propres qu'il renferme que l'auteur connaissait parfaitement le théâtre sur lequel il produit l'héroïne de sa composition."

In 1874, Wendelin Foerster, writing briefly on Gautier Le Long,¹³ attributes to him, in addition to *La Veuve*, the *fabliau Du valet qui d'aise a mesaise se met* without any comment, and Gaston Paris seems to have accepted that attribution, for in his *Littérature Française au Moyen Age* (1905), p. 123, he mentions "Gautier Le Long, auteur de *la Veuve* et (sans doute) du *Valet qui d'aise a malaise se met* (en se mariant), satires vives et fines, d'un style parfois singulier et difficile, mais très personnel."¹⁴

Thus it will appear from these selected references that from 1779, when the name of Gautier Le Long first appeared in literary history, down to the present time, he has come to acquire a vague personality and a reputation of no small importance for a writer of *fabliaux*. It will therefore seem like an extravagant statement on our part to maintain that there never was a *jongleur* Gautier Le Long and that he owes his supposititious existence (from 1779 to the present) to a mistake (although a perfectly natural one) in the reading of the only available manuscript of *La Veuve*; but that is precisely what this article will undertake to show.

In his admirable work on the *fabliaux*,¹⁵ Professor Joseph Bédier of the French Academy shows that only about twenty names of authors of *fabliaux* have been preserved and that, in the case of practically all, nothing is known of them except the name. "Que savons-nous d'Eustache d'Amiens, de Courtebarbe au nom grotesque, de Colin Malet, d'Enguerrand d'Oisi, de ces Garins et Gautiers indistincts qui se confondent les uns avec les autres?" On page 480 of his work, M. Bédier presents the scanty information about the "Gautiers indistincts": (I)

¹³ Cf. *Jahrbuch für rom. und engl. Literatur, neue folge*, I, 295-304.

¹⁴ P. 120 of the same work: "Notons aussi que quelques fableaux (mais c'est le petit nombre) sont sortis de l'invention même des auteurs (tel paraît être le cas pour *Richent*, pour les fableaux d'ailleurs plus satiriques que narratifs de Gautier Le Long, pour certains récits allégoriques . . ."

¹⁵ *Les Fabliaux*, 3d edition, Paris, 1911.

Gautier, author of *Connebert*¹⁶ and of the *Pretre Teint*,¹⁷ who wrote his poems in the Orléanais; (2) Gautier Le Long, author of *La Veuve*. M. Bédier rejects the ascription of *Du valet qui d'aïse a mesaise se met* to Gautier Le Long. (3) Gautier Le Loup, an obscene *jongleur*, author of one *dît*, of whom nothing is known and who is not to be confused with Gautier Le Long.

In the year 1911, the year in which the third and last edition of Bédier's work on the *fabliaux* appeared, a manuscript of capital importance for Old French Literature came to light in the private library of Lord Middleton of Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, England. This manuscript,¹⁸ a thick volume of velum folios presumably of the first half of the 13th century, contains a répertoire of Old French romances and *chansons de geste*, among which figure the *Roman de Troie*, the *Ille et Galeron*¹⁹ of Gautier d'Arras, the Alexander romance, the *Aspremont*,²⁰ and the *Vengeance Raguidel*²¹ of Raoul de Houdenc. The promiscuity of the genres in the Middle Ages is attested in the case of this manuscript, for its last folios are occupied by a *suite* of *fabliaux* to which the compiler appears to have done considerable honor, not only by devoting vellum folios to their transmission, but also by including them in the same volume with these masterpieces of epic and romance. The manuscript is that of an amateur of fine books and is no *jongleur's* répertoire, as is evidenced by a series of rich miniatures, which do not however extend to the portion occupied by the *fabliaux*. The title of each of the *fabliaux* (except the first, which lacks the opening verses and to which we have given the name "*Les Souhails*") is written in a 13th century hand in the margin opposite the beginning. Their arrangement is as follows:

¹⁶ Mont. et Ray., *ed. cit.*, V, 160.

¹⁷ Mont. et Ray., *ed. cit.*, VI, 8.

¹⁸ See Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Report of the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire*, Hereford, 1911, p. 233. Cf. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1912, p. 200; *Romania*, 1913, p. 145.

¹⁹ The Wollaton version of *Ille et Galeron* has been discussed by E. S. Sheldon, *Modern Philology*, Nov. 1919, and F. A. G. Cowper, *Mod. Phil.*, March, 1921, and August, 1922.

²⁰ Ed. L. Brandin, 1919-1922, 2 vols. (*Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, Paris).

²¹ Cf. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXXIX, 584.

Les Souhairs, 336 recto a—336 verso b; *Del fol vilain*, 337 r. a—338 v. b; *Li Provance de femme*, 338 v. b—341 r. a; *De l'avanture d'Ardenne*, 341 r. a—343 r. b; *De deux vilains*, 343 r. b—344 r. a; *De Dieu et dou pescour*, 344 r. a—345 v. a; *Du Prestre ki perdi les coilles*, 345 v. a. The manuscript terminates at this point and leaves this last *fabliau* incomplete at verse 84.

It is not difficult to show by direct evidence that these *fabliaux* of the Middleton manuscript (with the possible exception of *Les Souhairs*, which is incomplete) are the work of a single author, a certain Gauters Li Leus (or better Gautier Le Leu). In the majority of them Gautier Le Leu names himself as the author, sometimes both in the opening and closing verses. In the beginning of several of them he names other *fabliaux* that he has written and so we are enabled to identify as his work certain anonymous *fabliaux* of our manuscript and of the *Recueil Général* of Montaiglon et Raynaud.

The fourth *fabliau* of this *suite*, entitled in our manuscript *Li Provance de femme*, is a new version of the one mentioned by Lanson and others and published by Schéler, and Montaiglon and Raynaud, as *La Veuve* and ascribed to Gautier Le Long. The new version differs in many particulars from the published texts, and near the end (v. 493) we have a passage which reads unmistakably:

Gauters Li Leus dist en la fin
Que cil n'a mie le cuer fin
Que sa moller destraint ne cosse.

The corresponding lines in the published versions are essentially the same but the author's name is printed as Gauthier li Lons:

Gauthier Li Lons dist en la fin
Ke chil n'a mie le quer fin
Ki sa femme laidenge et koze.

How then may we explain this double ascription? We may eliminate immediately from consideration one of the three medieval manuscripts which preserve *La Veuve*: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds français*, 2168, because it lacks about eighty verses at the end of the poem and consequently the verse which mentions the author. Another one of the three

manuscripts, which was preserved in the National Library in Turin, Italy (L. v, 32), until 1904 when it was destroyed in a disastrous fire, formed the basis of the published editions of *La Veuve* (Mont. et Ray. and Scheler). Fortunately an 18th century copy of this manuscript is extant at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Collection Moreau 2717, Mouchet 52). This copy was made for the scholar La Curne de Sainte Palaye and bears annotations in his hand. In the margin of this copy, opposite the verse which we have quoted above containing the name Gauthier Li Lons, he has written Gautier Le Long and it seems certain therefore that the fabrication of the oblique form is due to his interpretation of the verse. Le Grand d'Aussy, in whose modern renderings of the *fabliaux* the name Gautier Le Long first appears in print, was a younger protégé of La Curne's and used his manuscript containing the Turin Copy.²² Those who have deciphered medieval documents know that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between the small *u* and the small *n* in manuscripts of the 13th and 14th centuries, so that La Curne might just as well have read instead of Lons, a form Lous, the oblique form of which would be Loup. The latter would correspond to the dialectal forms Leus and Leu which are found in the *fabliaux* of the Middleton manuscript, now the only complete medieval manuscript of *La Veuve*.

Other evidence beside the direct textual attribution bears out the ascription of *La Veuve* to Gautier Le Leu:

(1) Its presence as number four in the *suite* of seven *fabliaux* of which the others are the work of Gautier Le Leu. The compiler of the manuscript evidently desired to present a collection of *fabliaux* of that author.

(2) The Picard nature of the composition and the absence of any pronounced linguistic phenomena in comparison with other *fabliaux* of Gautier Le Leu, which would tend to show that it could not be his work.²³

(3) The use in *La Veuve* of verses (not *chevilles* or conventional verses) and of certain apparently personal expressions

²² Le Grand d'Aussy, *ed. cit.*, Preface, p. 69.

²³ Cf. below page 25 f.

²⁴ Cf. below, page 71.

which are present in other *fabliaux* of Gautier Le Leu.²⁴ This repetition is a characteristic feature of the author's hasty and careless style and extends to entire passages in some of his poems.²⁵ The most valuable evidence in our attribution is, of course, the mention of the author Gautier Le Leu in the Middleton manuscript. All other evidence seems to harmonize with it. The *jongleur* Gautier Le Long, therefore, presents the strange case of a medieval author whose name dates from the eighteenth century and who has never existed except in editions and commentaries which repeat an error (though an excusable one) in paleographical interpretation.

So much for Gautier Le Long. But who are these other "Gautiers indistincts"? From the combined evidence of the Middleton manuscript of the *fabliau De II Vilains* and the several manuscripts of the *fabliau Connebert*, we are able to supply to the Gautier without surname, known as the author of the *Pretre teint* and *Connebert*, that of Le Leu, and also to identify as his work the *fabliau Del sot chevalier*.²⁶

Gautiers qui fist del Preste Taint
Tant a alé qu'il a ataint
D'une autre prestre la matiere . . .

Connebert, Mont. et Ray. V, 160, verses 1-3.

Gautiers qui fist de Conebert
Et Del Sot Chevalier Robiert
Nos a conte d'une aventure . . .

De ii vilains, verses 1-3.

That the Gautier mentioned in these two passages is indeed Gautier Le Leu appears from the closing verses of *De II Vilains* where Gautier notes his name in full (and in rhyme) in telling of his source for the poem:

174 Uns bacelers de Valencienes
Qui avoit esté ens el leu
Le raconta *Gautier Le Leu*
Et il mist le fablel en rime.

²⁴ Cf. below, page 24.

²⁵ Mont. et Ray., *ed. cit.*, I, 220.

As for the third Gautier mentioned by Professor Bédier, a Gautier Le Loup, credited with the authorship of one *dit*, we are here again concerned with the variation in the form of a proper name, created by an editor—one which does not exist in the manuscript. The poem in question (*Dit des C.*) has been edited only once from manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds français* 837 by Montaiglon and Raynaud (*ed. cit.*, II, 137), who place under the title the name Gautier Le Loup. If we examine the *dit* in the manuscript (as we did recently) we see in the rhyme (verse 40) the name Gautiers Li Leus and in fact it appears in this form in verse 40 of the edition of Mont. and Ray.:

Ce tesmoingne Gautiers Li Leus.

who is no other a personage than the author of the *suite* of *fabliaux* in the Middleton manuscript. Gröber²⁷ has given the correct name of this author in connection with the *Dit des C.* "von dem sonst unbekannten Gautier le Leus."

From the preceding paragraphs it therefore appears that Gautier, Gautier Le Long and Gautier Le Loup are one personage.²⁸ Of the six times that we have his name used in full in his poems,²⁹ it is found five times in the forms Gautiers Li Leus or Gautier Le Leu. It stands twice in rhyme where it rhymes in the one case with *leu* (*locum*) and in the other with *eureus* (*A(U)GUROSUM).

We can surely attribute to Gautier Le Leu seven *fabliaux* and two *dits*. Another *fabliau*, *Les Souhails* to which we have already alluded, seems to us, for reasons which we shall presently give, to be also his work. We shall take up, in the appropriate

²⁷ G. Gröber, *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, II Band, p. 877.

²⁸ The carelessness of medieval authors in signing their compositions is responsible for the vast body of anonymous or partially signed works. Hence studies of authorship akin to the present one on the "Gautiers indistincts" are not rare: Cf. the one upon the identity of Jean Bodel (Bedel) p. 20 below. In the recent volume of *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (xxxv, 1921, p. 324 f.), M. C. V. Langlois has suggested with plausibility that Gefroi, Gefroi des Nés and Gefroi de Paris are a single personage. Cf. also the study of Bédier, *ed. cit.*, p. 482, on Huon le Roi, Huon Piaucele and Huon de Cambrai. Bédier is not so sure that the three may represent a single personage as was Leclerc in his article on the *fabliaux* in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIII. The list of such articles could readily be lengthened.

²⁹ *Dit des C.*, 40; *De deux vilains*, 176; *Del fol vilain*, 371; *Du C.*, 1; *Li Provance de femme*, 497; *De l'avanture d'Ardenne*, 4.

place, consideration of a number of *dits* and *fabliaux* which have been directly or indirectly attributed to one or another of the three Gautiers whom he incorporates. We add here the list of the poems, *dits* and *fabliaux*, which appear to be authentic beyond doubt: *De Connebert* (Mont. et Ray., V, 160), called in the Middleton manuscript, *Du Prestre ki perdi les coilles*; *Del Sot Chevalier* (*ibid.*, I, 220) called in the Middleton manuscript *De l'avanture d'Ardenne*; *Du Pretre Teint* (*ibid.*, VI, 8); *La Veuve* (*ibid.*, II, 197), called in the Middleton manuscript *Li Provance de femme*; *Dit des C.* (*ibid.*, V, 137); and the *inedita*: *Les Souhails*, *Del fol vilain*, *De II vilains*, *De Dieu et dou pescour* of the Middleton manuscript and the *Dit du C.* of manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds français*, 19152.

Let us see now what can be learned of the personality of Gautier Le Leu from his poems, for, as in the case of Rutebeuf, he does not appear to have been named in medieval documents other than his own, although one of his *fabliaux*, *Le Pretre teint*, was among the best known of the Middle Ages. It figures in a well-known *jongleur's* répertoire given in another *fabliau*, *Des deux bordeors ribauds* (M. & R., I, 1). The passage has been frequently quoted to illustrate the promiscuity of the genres in medieval literature. The *jongleur* mixes the romances of the Round Table pell-mell with the *fabliaux*;

295 Si sai de Parceval l'estoire,
Et si sai du *Provoire Taint*
Qui od les crucefiz fu painz . . .

From the opening lines of *Le Pretre teint* it appears that Gautier Le Leu was a poor wandering *jongleur*. He gives us some details of his nomadic life and hand to mouth existence, which was made miserable by the greed of grasping innkeepers³⁰

³⁰ Such difficulties between *jongleurs* and innkeepers are frequently recorded; cf. our article on Raoul de Houdenc, *Romanic Review*, 1922, p. 296. W. Foerster, *Jahrbuch für rom. und eng. Sprache und Literatur*, neue folge, 1874, 288, publishes a fragment of a *fabliau* by "li iovenes maires du Hamiel Ki de W. trouva le vie." Foerster suggests Wauthier (Gautier) for the abbreviation and the fragment shows that he was a traveling jack-of-all-trades who did odd jobs and furnished amusement for the towns he passed through. The character would admirably fit that of Gautier Le Leu. There is a town le Hamel in the Dept. of the Somme and a Hamel (Nord) in or near the region of which Gautier Le Leu seems to have been a native.

who drained his purse and then claimed his *mantel*, *cote*, and *sercot* in payment of his *escot*:

I Il est bien droiz que je retraie,
 Puis que nus hons ne m'en deloie,
 D'une aventure que je sai
 Qu'avint en l'entree de mai
 A Orliens, la bone cité,
 Ou j'ai par meinte foiz esté.
 L'aventure est et bone et bele,
 Et la rime fresche et novele,
 Si con je la fis l'autre jour
 A Orliens ou fui a sejour.
 Tant i sejournai et tant fui
 Que mon mantel menjai et bui
 Et une cote et .I. sercot.
 Mout ai païé bien mon escot:
 Ne m'en doit riens demander l'oste
 Qui volentiers nos gens acoste;
 A l'entrer lor fet bele chiere:
 A l'essir est d'autre maniere,
 Bien set conter quant qu'il i met,
 Neïs le sel qu'el pot remet;
 Les auz, le verjus et la leigne
 Ne let rien qu'a conter remaigne,
 Einsi son escot rien ne couste.
 Ne veil pas jusqu'a Pentecouste
 Chés tel oste mon ostel prendre:
 Sovent me feroit mes dras vendre.
 Tel ostel a maufez commant

 Que jamès jor n'i enterrai,
 Que moi n'en chaut. Or vos diroi
 De cele aventure d'ouen,
 Devant la feste seint Johan
 Qu'avint en la cité d'Orliens . . .³¹

It is evident from this passage that Gautier only visited Orleans from time to time. Evidence of language, a strongly flavored Picard idiom, bears out geographical data contained in

³¹ Again in the *Fol vilain*, v. 84 f., Gautier shows an acquaintanceship with inns and innkeepers and recounts almost the same experience, this time in connection with the *fol vilain*, hero of the *fabliau*.

his poems, to the effect that he was a native of what is today Northeastern France or Southwestern Belgium, a territory on the border of the Picard and Walloon regions, although there is no reason for assigning Tournai to him as a native town, as Dinaux did. His geographical knowledge of a fairly limited region is thorough as is shown by mention of the districts of La Thiérasche in Haute Picardie, and Ostrevant, now parts of the Departments of the Nord and the Aisne, and the towns of St. Amant, Marciennes and Valenciennes (all in the Department of the Nord) and certain towns in Hainaut and what is now Southwestern Belgium: Walcourt, Dinant, La Chaussée, Andane, Alost, Tournai, Tongres, and the Ardennes.³² It also appears that he had an acquaintanceship with individuals and innkeepers of the region and an accurate knowledge of distances. In *Del fol vilain* (v. 50) he speaks of an innkeeper at Walcourt, a certain "Englebert Le Cort qui maint laron ot sostoitiet." We can hardly doubt that he had first-hand acquaintance with him. In both *La Veuve* and *Del fol vilain* Gautier introduces lists of names of individuals which have a decidedly local flavor and several mentioned in the one are referred to in the other. The two villains from La Thiérasche

Sont revenu en Ostrevant
La dont il furent nuit devant.

The scene of the *fabliau Del sot chevalier* is laid in the Ardennes

A quatre liues pres d'Andanne,³³

where the seven "chevaliers cortois et sages" arrive wearied from their trip from Alost.

That Gautier was at least acquainted with higher education and branches of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* is indicated in several passages:

Si set il molt d'astronomi
Et de grammaire et de logique,
D'artimaire ³⁴ et de rectorique;

³² Other geographical names are introduced rather by chance and have no local significance: Aucoirre, Aussai (Alsace), Lezac (= Lezay-Deux Sevres?), Meulens, Colchester, Tarse, etc.

³³ For the reading here of Andanne and Alost cf. below p. 74 and note.

³⁴ *Artimaire*. The word here evidently means arithmetic, one of the seven liberal arts. This passage lends support then to Paris' derivation of the word from

Si set des esteles le cors
Et des VIII planetes les cors

Du C., Bib. Nat. f. fr. 19152.

In another passage from the same poem he exhibits an acquaintance with a considerable body of medieval literature and the list which he furnishes may represent in scope his *jongleur's* répertoire:

- 45 Seignor asses avez oï³⁵
De Salemon et (de) Davi³⁶
Qui tant furent saige parus.
S'avez oï du roi Artus,³⁷
De Perceval, de Sagremor,
De Caraduel qui but au cor,
De mon seigneur Gauvain le Saige,
Et de Dodinel le Sauvaige

artem mathematicam; cf. *Romania* II, 243; VI, 129 f., 254; xxx, 409 (note 1), and Paris: *Mélanges Linguistiques*, 143, 273.

³⁵ For similar lists of medieval works cf. *Richars li Biaus* ed. Foerster Wien, 1874, v. 1 ff. and the references in Charles V. Langlois, *La Société Française au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1910, p. XXII. For other parodies on this practice, cf. the list in the *fabliau De Deux Bordeors Ribauds* (p. 11 above) and *Roman de Renart*, ed. Ernest Martin, Strasbourg, 1882, I, p. 62 f.

³⁶ Solomon and David were synonymous in the Middle Ages with husbands whose wives had deceived them. The references especially to Solomon are very numerous. Gaston Paris treats the whole subject of the feigned death of Solomon's wife as a source or analogue of the similar theme in the *Cligès* of Chrétien de Troyes in *Journal des Savants*, 1902, p. 641-645, where he gives numerous references to Solomon in medieval literature. An Old French work treating the subject has probably been lost.

³⁷ The Arthurian heroes here mentioned need but little comment. In verse 50 we have an evident reference to the test of fidelity to which Caradoc's wife was put. The story occurs in the *Perceval* and again in the *Lai du Cor* of Robert Biket. It is summed up in the *Vengeance Raguidel* of Raoul de Houdenc (ed. Hippeau, v. 3922 f.). Upon this theme and that of the *Mantel mal taillé*, cf. Gaston Paris in *Romania* XXVIII (1899).

This reference to Dodinel le Sauvaige is vague and has escaped us. There is in the Treasure Room of the Harvard University Library, on cards in a large wooden case, an onomasticon of the Medieval Arthurian Romances begun in 1898 by Miss Alma Blount and continued under the direction of the late Professor Schofield. The work is painstaking and complete, and its publication will render great service to medievalists. A verification of over 100 references to Dodinel le Sauvaige failed to explain this reference. One asks if the scribe was correct in copying *mist* with which we should have expected an adverb or expression of place. *Prist* might be a better reading, but even so the reference is obscure. In the prose *Lancelot*, cxxii, Dodinel is chosen as Arthur's hunting companion along with Kay, Sagremor and Lancelot, but no details of the hunt are given.

Qui mist le cerf au pié baucent.
 S'avez oï du roi Priant
 Du prû Hector et d'Achilles
 Que tant furent d'armes engres.
 S'avez oï assez sovent
 De Richer³⁸ et de Floevent
 Et de Rolant et d'Olivier
 Et de Turpin et de Gaifier
 Et des huevres au roi Charlon;
 Mais ainc n'oïstes du baron
 Qui plus est larges et poissanz
 Ne fu Cesaires³⁹ ne Croissanz⁴⁰
 Ne Costentius li riches rois
 Ne Alixandres li grizois
 Ne tuit cil que ge vos ai dit
 Qui tant furent prû et eslit

Du C., Bib. Nat. f. fr. 19152.

In addition to a mention of *li auctor de Rome*,⁴¹ which Gautier probably never read, and a passing reference to Morgan the fairy:

En cel endroit a une ree
 Qui li donna Morgue la fee

Du C., Bib. Nat. f. fr. 19152,

there are several literary allusions in Gautier's work which we have not been successful in explaining. In *Connebert* v. 221 f. we have an allusion perhaps to a lost *fabliau*:

Et li ont tant batu lo dos
 C'onques li boens vilains Mados

³⁸ Richer. Ernest Langlois: *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste*, Paris, 1904, gives us two full pages of references to various Richers. Our Richer is probably the "écuyer de Floevent, fils du duc Joceram." It would seem that Gautier knew the *chanson de geste Floevent*, and also the *Chanson de Roland*.

³⁹ Cesaires—Caesar especially J. Caesar is frequently mentioned in the *chansons de geste*. For a poem on J. Caesar of Jacot de Forest and a prose work of Jean de Tuin from the first half of the 13th century, cf. Gaston Paris, *Littérature française au Moyen Age*, paragraph 48.

⁴⁰ Croissanz, cf. Leon Gautier, *Bibliographie des Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1847, p. 85, where reference is made to a lost poem and a late prose version of *Croissant*.

⁴¹ Cf. below, p. 77.

Que le tenoit por Curoïn
Ne feri tant sor Baudoïn
Quant il traist Drian de la fosse
Qui tant est orible et enosse.

Verses 174-176 of *Del fol vilain* likewise contain a reference to what seems to be a lost *fabliau* probably also by Gautier Le Leu:

Cil Evrars fu parens Coupé
Dont vos aves oï pieça
Qui le messe reconmença

If the closing verses of *Les Souhails* (186-192)⁴² refer to an episode in the *chansons de geste* concerning Charlemagne, we have not been able to locate it.

From consideration of the passages quoted and certain references in his poems, it seems to be a natural deduction that Gautier was a *clerc*, one belonging to the type of "déclassés, vieux étudiants, moines manqués, défroqués qui composent la 'famille de Golias,' vagi scholares, clerici vagantes, goliards, goliardois, pauvres clercs," so well described by M. Bédier,⁴³ and of whom he says "le type s'en était dessiné et fixé dès le milieu du XII^e siècle." A passage in the *Chroniques de Saint Denis* tells us that the *clercs* were often writers of *fabliaux* by profession.⁴⁴ M. Bédier,⁴⁵ we think, shows plainly that Goliard et *jongleur* were often synonymous terms in the Middle Ages. The *clercs* did enjoy ecclesiastic privileges, but only as long as they refrained from *goliardise*. If convicted of that offense they were deprived of all of their clerical advantages and it is certain that many then came to swell the ranks of the *jongleurs*. We have a number of *fabliaux* that were evidently written by *clercs*.⁴⁶ We are inclined to see in Gautier a *clerc* who may have had such difficulties with the church or one of the religious orders. His *fabliau De Dieu et dou pescour* is an attack on

⁴² Cf. below, page 36.

⁴³ Bédier, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

⁴⁴ Cf. Thomas Wright, *The Latin Poetry commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, Camden Society, London, 1841, p. XIV.

⁴⁵ Bédier, *op. cit.*, pp. 389 f.

⁴⁶ Such are, for example, *Du Povre Mercier* (M. & R. II, 114) and *Des trois dames qui troverent l'anel* (M. & R. I, 15) as appears from their opening verses.

venality in the church. In a passage of *Du C.* he has not spared the Cistercians:

Plus n'aut de bien en Conebert
Ne fait en toz les coterax ⁴⁷
Qui sont en l'ordre de Citeax
Du C. ms., Bib. Nat. f. fr. 19152.

This attitude might account for the bitter hatred to which he gives vent in certain of his *fabliaux* against the priests—a hatred which goes far beyond the mocking satire of other writers of *fabliaux*. Such is the tenor of *Du Prestre teint. Connebert*, which has been characterized as the most violent of *fabliaux* in this respect, ends with the following cry of vengeance after the cruel punishment of the priest:

Car fuissent or si atorné
Tuit le prestre de mere né
Qui sacrement de mariage
Tornent a honte et a putage!

"Il ne s'agit plus," says Bédier, "de malices, de sous-entendus goguenards, familiers aux conteurs légers, mais de véritables haines." ⁴⁸

It is evident from certain passages of his work that Gautier was both *trouvère* and *jongleur* in the sense that he wrote and recited his poems. Rather than having regretted the writing of "faux *fabliaux*" as did the chevalier Jean de Journi,⁴⁹ he has much the same attitude toward his production as had Jean Bedel, who terms himself "rimoieres de *fabliaux*," and enumerates his entire production in one passage of his work.⁵⁰ Gautier proudly informs us in a verse of *Les II Vilains* (v. 177-178), that it is the 11th that he has composed:

Et il (Gautier) mist le fabel en rime,
X en a fait; vesci l'onsime.

⁴⁷ Cf. below, page 22.

⁴⁸ Cf. *La Veuve*, v. 27 f., where a covetous priest desires to shorten a burial service in haste to get the offering and the candles which would then be longer.

⁴⁹ Jean de Journi, *Dime de Penitence*, ed. Breymann, Tübingen, 1875, v. 23.

⁵⁰ *De deux chevaux* (M. & R. I, 153), v. 1-10. The *jongleur* Guillaume le Normand is also proud of his production of *fabliaux*. Cf. *Du Prestre et d'Alison* (M. & R. II, 8), v. 1-5.

Thus we have his own assertion that he wrote more than the ten poems which we ascribe to him with certainty, eight of which we characterize as *fabliaux*, after the accepted definition. In the case of only one other *jongleur*, Jean Bedel or Jean Bodel,⁵¹ of whom nothing is known and whose name is uncertain, have we as many as eight *fabliaux* preserved. Six may be attributed to Jean de Condé and five to Rutebeuf.

Gautier occasionally informs us as to the sources of his *fabliaux*. According to him the *Prete teint* represents an actual happening in the city of Orleans and was written by him there. From the opening lines it is clear that he recited it. *Connebert* was also picked up during his wanderings.⁵² There is no evidence that it was composed in the Orléanais as Bédier indicates.⁵³ He also recited this *fabliau*:

Ensin con i poez entendre
Se vos un po volez aprandre,
Je vos dirai trestot briement
La fin et lo commencement.

(*Connebert*, vv. 7-11.)

The story *De II vilains*, "*qu'il a fait metre en escriture*," was told to him as having actually happened by a *bachelor* of Valenciennes after it had circulated in many towns of the region, including St. Amand and Marciennes, and was apparently recited by him (v. 3). The opening verses of *Del fol vilain* are formal in this regard:

Puis qu'il vient a vos tos a bel
Dire me covient I fablel.

Gautier at the beginning of his *Dit du C.* asks for the close attention of his audience:

Se vos volez estre en silence
Et de parler en abstinence,

⁵¹ W. Cloetta sees in Jean Bedel a native of the region of Arras but would not identify him with Jean Bodel, author of *Les Saisnes* (cf. *Archiv. für das studium der neuen Sprachen und Literaturen*, 91, 52). Bédier on the other hand studies the question and decides that the two are one. Bédier, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

⁵² Cf. v. 1-3 quoted, p. 9 above.

⁵³ Cf. below, page 75.

Ge vos dirai ençois la nuit,
 Comment qu'il me griet ne ennuit,
 Ce conte du plus halt estoire.

Ms. Bib. Nat. f. fr. 19152.

The events recounted in *Del sot chevalier* took place in the forest of the Ardennes four leagues from Andenne, and the poem was composed and recited by Gautier (v. 1-10). The irreverent *fabliau De Dieu et dou pescour*, he says, was taken from a book (v. 7-8). Of course we need not take Gautier's assertions to be true in all these cases but we do find only a little traditional material in his *fabliaux* and it seems that they may have been largely his own invention (*La Veuve*), or were founded on bits of gossip and scandal that he amassed in his wanderings or during conversations with the bons compagnons in the inns. Several of Gautier's poems⁵⁴ which deal with night adventures in inns and hostels of a low order would be of a sort to divert the travelers around the hearth before retiring.

Evidence obtained from a study of Gautier's poems helps us but little in assigning precise dates to his career. The Middleton manuscript, the most important manuscript of his *fabliaux*, is written in a thirteenth century hand, one which dates from the first half of the century in the judgment of Mr. Stevenson.⁵⁵ All other manuscripts containing his work are of the thirteenth century except one. In the Middleton manuscript, the documents other than the *fabliaux*, as far as we can determine, are of the twelfth century, with the exception of *La Vengeance Raguidel* of Raoul de Houdenc, whose career had ended by 1224. The *fabliau De Dieu et dou pescour* gives us a muddled allegorical picture in which mounted personages figure. The introduction of such ideas as subjects for vernacular poetry is generally credited to Raoul de Houdenc, of whom Gautier may have been a contemporary. The literary allusions in his work⁵⁶ may all refer to twelfth century productions and characters. The term *coterel* used by Gautier in one passage was applied particularly to the peasants who revolted from the

⁵⁴ For example *De deux vilains* and *Del sot chevalier*.

⁵⁵ *Report of manuscript of Lord Middleton, ed. cit.*, page 233.

⁵⁶ Cf. above, pages 15-17.

authority of Louis VII (died 1180), but there is no indication that it is used in this narrow sense by Gautier. It seems assured then that Gautier lived and flourished during the thirteenth century, probably before 1250 if the manuscript indications are correct. We see no linguistic reasons which would render this supposition untenable.

As in the case of the majority of writers of *fabliaux*, Gautier Le Leu appears to have made little conscious effort at literary production, although his octosyllabic verses, in the rapidity of their movement, seem well adapted to their narrative purpose. In general his rhymes are exact and he seems to have favored rich rhyme, although his handling of rhyme varies greatly in the several poems. On the strength of a comparative study of the rhymes of *La Veuve* and *Le Valet qui d'aise a mesaise se met*, M. Bédier⁵⁷ concludes that both are so strongly impregnated with Picard dialectal traits that a demonstration is unnecessary. He refuses to accept their attribution to a single author (Gautier Le Long) because "*Le Valet* est d'une facture infiniment plus grossière et négligée: les rimes insuffisantes, les véritables assonances y entrent en grande proportion," whereas for *La Veuve*, "au contraire, les rimes sont pures, soignées, exactes." At first this view might seem to be a serious objection to their ascription to one author, but if we take into consideration Gautier's personality, his existence as a tavern poet, his poems of circumstance, we might explain even so wide a range of technical skill in his writings.⁵⁸ This in a way might correspond to the variety of subject matter in his poems: his satire upon all classes of society: nobles, villains, ecclesiastics (quite natural if we look upon Gautier as a social outcast, a *clerc déclassé* belonging to no particular one of the social orders); his rather happy and spirited treatment of the fable of *Les Souhairs*; his pitiful attempt at allegory in *De Dieu et dou pescour*; his exact psychological delineation of character in *La Veuve*; and, in contrast, the lengthy and patchy portrayal of the traditional and exaggerated traits of the *Fol vilain*, the improbable themes of the *Prete teint*, *Connebert* and *De deux vilains*, and the obscene

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 480 f.

⁵⁸ It is true, however, that there is no such great difference in the matter of insufficient rhymes in his other poems.

absurdities of his two *dits*. In the matter of rhyme the following table will indicate the variation of rich, sufficient, and insufficient rhymes in his poems without taking account of the *rimes equivoques*, which are found in good number.

	Rich	Sufficient	Insufficient
<i>Les Souhais</i>	50	13	1
<i>De deux vilains</i>	69	7	0
<i>Del fol vilain</i>	141	20	1
<i>De Dieu et dou pescour</i>	86	25	0
<i>La Veuve</i> (Middleton manuscript)...	181	33	0
<i>Le Pretre leint</i>	94	102	13
<i>Connebert</i>	81	57	4
<i>Del sot chevalier</i> (Midd. ms.).....	112	31	1
<i>Du C.</i>	64	110	11
<i>Dit des C.</i>	5	18	2

That Gautier was a poet of circumstance is shown by the fact that verses and entire passages have been transported from one poem to another.⁵⁹ The *Dit des C.* is nothing more nor less than the reemploy of a section of *Du C.*⁶⁰ Unlike the eighteenth century *conteurs*, Gautier has made no effort to color brutality of subject by polish of vocabulary or smooth exterior. His purpose is evidently to relate a story for his own amusement and that of the passer-by and we can guess from the scanty details of his life that his public was far from being a refined one. In *La Veuve*, however, he has hit upon an innovation. There we have what Lanson has termed "*naissance de la littérature psychologique*,"⁶¹ a keen satire on the weaknesses of womankind written, according to Gaston Paris,⁶² in a personal style which is unusual and difficult. This involved style seems to be due in some measure to imperfections and difficult readings in the manuscripts which have heretofore been used in editing *La Veuve*. The Middleton version, we believe, presents a clearer text and makes certain passages more coherent by rearrange-

⁵⁹ Examples will be given when individual fabliaux are considered, p. 27 f.

⁶⁰ Verses 1-18 reproduce textually the last 18 verses of *Du C.* and other verses are found in both poems. *Du C.* seems to antedate the *Dit des C.*, for in it the arrangement of verses is more logical and the idea more complete and the latter is apparently only a section of the former.

⁶¹ Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 1166.

⁶² Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

ment of verses. This difficult style is not entirely absent from other portions of Gautier's work and cannot be said to be peculiar to *La Veuve*. The *Dit du C.*, *Del fol vilain*, and *De Dieu et dou pescour* present similar difficulties.

It is not our intention to enter upon a detailed study of the language of Gautier. The Middleton manuscript of the *fabliaux* is impregnated with Picardisms which are attested for the original versions by evidence of rhyme and syllable count. In connection with the four *fabliaux* published herewith, this will be sufficiently evident from the examples which we shall choose for comment. For the other *fabliaux*, as well, certain linguistic traits will be mentioned which seem to corroborate the geographical evidence to the effect that Gautier was a native of Haute Picardie near the Walloon region. All the poems do not exhibit the influence of the Picard dialect to the same degree. The *Pretre teint* shows little or no trace of it. In this connection a passage of *De ii vilains*, if it may be taken literally, seems interesting: Gautier

Nos aconté d'une aventure
Qu'il a fait metre en escripture.

It may have been his habit to have his poems edited, so to speak, in this way and since *Le Pretre teint* was written in Orleans it would be natural to suppose that a scribe of the region may have redacted it. *Connebert*, then, which has also been assigned to the Orléanais by Bédier⁶³ because it is the work of the author of *Le Pretre teint*, could hardly have been written there under the same conditions because it exhibits Picardisms to a marked degree.⁶⁴ In certain of the *fabliaux* of the Middleton manuscript we have several rare verb forms, imperfects in *-eve* < -ABAM, etc., used in the body of the text, which are rather Walloon than Picard. If these forms were a part of the originals, as seems not unlikely, they might be interpreted to indicate a border dialect.⁶⁵ The occasional presence of a Picard *c*⁶⁶ in the rhyme with a *c* non-Picard and which may be Walloon would also seem to

⁶³ Bédier, *op. cit.*, 437.

⁶⁴ Cf. below, p. 75.

⁶⁵ Below, pp. 52, 59.

⁶⁶ Below, p. 75 especially.

bear out the general supposition. The imperfect and conditional first person plural ending *-iemes* would tend to localize the dialect to what is now Belgian Hainaut and the Departments of the Nord and Pas de Calais (France), whereas the present and future first person plural ending *-omes*⁶⁷ seems to have been characteristic of the dialect of what is now Belgian Hainaut. In the majority of cases both in the body of the text of the *fabliaux* and in the rhyme where Picard and Walloon forms would show a differentiation, the former are present.

The chronological order of the *fabliaux* of Gautier can only be determined for those of which the author makes special mention, from which it appears that the *Pretre teint* was written before *Connebert* and both *Connebert* and the *Sot chevalier* preceded the composition of *De ii vilains*. *Du C.* surely preceded the *Dit des C.*, for the latter is only an awkwardly chosen section of it.

WORKS OF GAUTIER LE LEU

A.—*Les Souhails*

Middleton manuscript, 336 r. a.—336 v. b.

The opening verses of this *fabliau*, which may have contained the name of the author, are missing, for at least one folio is wanting at this place in the manuscript. The context will show that the story is not mutilated by this loss, which can only have extended to a few introductory verses. The reasons for assigning the *fabliau* to Gautier Le Leu are (1) Its presence as the first of a series of seven *fabliaux* of which the other six are the work of that author, (2) Its linguistic accord with the other *fabliaux* of the *suite*, (3) The presence of certain verses and locutions (not *chevilles*) which are but repetitions more or less exact of parts of other *fabliaux* of Gautier Le Leu.⁶⁸ From

⁶⁷ Below, pp. 51, 52; cf. Schwan-Behrens: *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, Leipzig, 1913, paragraph 339, 2, R. 3; 341, R.; 343, R.; and part III, texts VI, VII, IX, X, XII, and remarks on part III, p. 105.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Les Souhails*, 94-95 with *De Dieu et dou pescour*, 163-164.

37-38 with *De Dieu et dou pescour*, 55-56.

134-135 with *De Dieu et dou pescour*, 211-212.

72-73 with *Connebert*, 9-10.

37-38 with *Del fol vilain*, 143-144.

86-87 with *Del fol vilain*, 145-146.

what has been said above regarding Gautier's style, it will be seen that this is a characteristic which extends to other parts of his *fabliaux*.

We have represented in *Les Souhais* a *conte à tiroirs* which was widespread in both east and west. The question of the inter-relations of the variants (our *fabliau* contributes a twenty-third) has been discussed by eminent folklorists, among whom figure especially Grimm,⁶⁹ Benfey,⁷⁰ Lang⁷¹ and Bédier.⁷² The latter has drawn up for us an elaborate classification of the versions which makes it easy to orient our *fabliau*, dealing with the wish granted to the good man (here by angels in the form of birds) and the three wishes (here with the alternative of maledictions) that bring ruin on the covetous man, to whom they are in our story given by fallen angels in the form of black-birds larger than ravens. In Bédier's classification scheme we would place our story under E in a group of *contes*, where the wishes which bring happiness are in contrast with those which end disastrously, with reference also to group C in which it is a question of a single wish as in the beginning of our story.

Several forms of this *conte* were circulating in the Middle Ages, among them fables of Phaedrus, of the Romulus, and of Marie de France,⁷³ the *fabliau* of the *Souhais Saint Martin* (M. & R., V, 201) and the sixteenth century prose version of Philippe de Vigneulles.⁷⁴ It is also found in the *Pantchatantra*

146-147 with *La Veuve*, 423-424.—*Del fol vilain*, 105-106.

50-51 with *La Veuve*, 59-60.

8-9 with *La Veuve*, 309-310.

142-143 with *La Veuve*, 49-50.

55 with *La Veuve*, 265.

⁶⁹ Grimm, *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, Göttingen, 1856, notes to *conte* 87.

⁷⁰ Benfey, *Pantchatantra*, 1859, I, p. 495.

⁷¹ Lang, *Perrault's Popular Tales*, Oxford, 1888, p. xlii.

⁷² Bédier, *op. cit.*, p. 212 f.

⁷³ Bédier has misinterpreted curiously both the fables of the *Romulus* and Marie de France which are here in question. According to him, the woman has a bone stuck in her throat and wishes upon her husband a woodcock's beak to withdraw it. He wishes the same thing upon her and they establish the *status quo* with the last wish. In reality the woodcock's beak is wished upon the husband merely to draw the marrow out of a bone. Cf. Bédier, *ed. cit.*, p. 216 and for the *Romulus*: Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins*, II, 532 (xlvi) and Marie de France, ed. Warnke, Halle, 1898, p. 191 (lvii).

⁷⁴ Cf. *Athenaeum français*, 1853, pp. 432 ff.; 851 ff., and the table of Bédier already cited.

and the versions of the *Sept Sages*. In the second part of our version the wishes bring about the blinding of the man and his wife to whom they are accorded. In the majority of the fables, the *status quo* is established, a condition which seems more logical and which may more nearly represent the original theme. Perrault's version of this *conte* and the *aune de boudin* are too well known to call for any comment here, as is also La Fontaine's version of the story.

Text of *Les Souhais*:

A.—*Les Souhais*

-
 Deseur le roit s'est estendus.
 Cil laiens parolent a luj:
 "Amis, ne nos faites anuj,
 Ne somes pas oisel terestre,
 5 Ançois somes angle celestre.
 Oste te roit, lai nos aler,
 N'i poomes plus demorer.
 Tu en aras tel gerredon
 Que Diex te fera vrai pardon,
 10 Et si aras si grant avoir
 Que tu onques volras avoir
 Por sohaidier a une fie."
 Li prodom qui en deu se fie,
 Qui n'estoit mie covoiteus
 15 Et del rover estoit honteus,
 Dist: "Ie ne vuel ne plus ne mains
 Qu'autant que mes frere germain
 Mais que ie l'aie sans pecciet."
 Puis a avant sen brac lanciet,
 20 S'a le roit contremont sacie,
 Puis l'a colloite et embracie.
 Et cil sont à le voie mis;
 Mais il li dient: "Bels amis,
 Tes sohais est bien asenés,
 25 Or soies prodom et senés,
 Si fai bien a le povre gent,
 Car tu as plus d'or et d'argent
 C'onques eüst Tiebaus tes frere
 Qui tostans a esté trafere;

Vv. 20, 21, 35: *sacie, embracie, justice*: Picard fem. past participles.

- 30 Nonques ne fina d'userer
Tant qu'il puet l'avoir mesurer
Et a mines et a sestiers.
Dehait ait or si fais mestiers
Dont li ame est si tormentee
35 Et iusticie et tempestee."
Quant li prodom l'ot et entent,
Plus n'i areste ne atent.
Venus en est a sen repaire;
De fosses i trova deu paire
40 Tos plains de dolce aigue corant
Contre lui sont venu corant
Si enfant, se li dient: "Sire,
Caiens est venus nostre sire,
Si nos a grant avoir donet,
45 Et si nos a abandonet
Que nos menions tostans ases."
Li prodom est oltre passés,
Devant l'entree de la porte
Jeta le roit ius qu'il aporte.
50 Quant il parvint en mi sa cort
Se li cairent si drap cort;
S'ot maintenant cote et mantel
Dont a or furent li tassel.
Sa feme est contre lui venue
55 Qui ne restoit mie trop nue,
Si s'entreprendent par les dois.
Ses frere, li vilains redois,
Quant il entendit la novele,
Sacies que ne li fu pas bele;
60 Car vilains qui pleins est d'envie,
Ne volroit ia tote sa vie
Que nus hom qui montast a luj

50-51, with slight change in *La Veuve*, v. 59-60.

56. Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, 6289: Puis s'entreprendent par les dois.

60-64. A psychological observation of the sort for which *La Veuve* is noted.

62. *Monter* in this sense of relationship is not indicated in *La Curne* or *Godefroy*.

It occurs twice in *La Veuve* with the same meaning:

- 10 Chil qui a li *montent* plus pres
Le tiennent, par bras et par mains
256 Il ne vos doit pas anoyer
Si je parole un poi à vos
Car vos deveis *monter* à nos

- Devenist plus riches de luj.
 Isnelement son frere mande,
 65 Se li enquier molt et demande
 Dont si fais avoirs li abonde.
 A il parlet a dame Abunde?
 Ne s'il l'a tolut ne reubé.
 Et li prodon li a rové
 70 Qu'il laist ester se vilonie
 Car trop i a de felonie;
 Puis li conta trestot briement
 Le fin et le commencement,
 Comment il prist les creatures
 75 Qui destinent les aventures,
 "Si me donerent .I. sohait."
 Cil li respont: "Mal dehé ait
 Ma barbe se ge nes vois prendre.
 Se gel puis tenir ne soprendre
 80 U soit a bos o soit a plain
 J'en averai trestot mon plain.
 Or me faites vo roit prester,
 Et ie m'en irai aprester."
 On li aporte et cil le prent.
 85 Covoitisse qui le soprent
 Le fait aler plus que le pas;
 Venus en est a un trespas
 A l'issue d'une valee
 Qui molt estoit et longue et lee
 90 Et molt orible et molt parfonde;
 De serpens i avoit grant fonde.
 La a tendu soldainnement,
 Mais n'i fu gaires longuement
 Quant il vit venir une torbe
 95 Qui molt estoit hisdeuse et torbe.
 C'estoient li angle enpenet
 Qui tant ont le siecle penet.

67. dame Abunde: "nom d'une fée en qui le peuple avait autrefois beaucoup de confiance et à qui on avait donné ce nom à cause de l'abondance qu'elle procurait aux maisons où elle se retirait" (Godefroy).

72-73. Cf. *Connebert*, 10-11.

86-87. Cf. *Del fol vilain*, 145-146.

94-95. Cf. *De Dieu et dou pescur*, 163-164.

- Formes d'oiseax avoient prisses;
 Aussi con candelles esprisses
 100 Lor luisoient li uel es ciés;
 Les portoient amont hauciés.
 Il erent graindre que corbon,
 Si erent plus noir que carbon.
 Sor le roit viennent burissant,
 105 Et li vilains vait fremissant
 Quant il voit les vains esperis
 Por quoi li siecles est peris.
 Mais une riens le reconforte:
 Que li rois ert et grans et forte,
 110 Et cil n'estoit mie contrais
 Qui tenoit le corde et les trais;
 Ains sace si a une fois
 Que tos les a mis en defois.
 Cele part vint, si lor a dît:
 115 "De Deu soient mi uel maudit
 Se ie n'ai de vos men vouloir;
 Comment qu'il vos doive doloir
 I'arai des sohai plus de deus,
 S'or s'en devoit core Christ Deus."
 120 Dont respondent li angle faus:
 "Par les caisnes et par les faus,
 Et par le terre et par le bos
 U nos prendons sovent repos,
 Amis, nos te donrons tos dis
 125 U trois sohai o trois maudis.
 Par les sohai poras avoir
 Grant segnorie et grant avoir,
 Et des maudis te pues venger
 Se nus hom te velt laidenger.
 130 Auquel que tu vels, si l'atorne."
 Atant li vilains s'en retorne.
 Et cil qui le vuelent deçoivre
 Li redient por l'aparçoivre:
 "Amis, nos te donrons un don

115. This curse is granted at the end of the *fabliau*.

119. The line is one difficult to translate; *core* seems to mean *courir*.

- 135 Par amor et par gueredon.
 Nos te volons habandoner
 Que tu pues tes sohaiis doner
 Et departir a ton talent.
 Tant coniscons le dame Alent
- 140 Qu'ele en ara tresbien sa part."
 Atant li vilains s'en depart;
 Venus en est a se maison;
 Sa feme le met a raison
 Dont il vient ne u a esté
- 145 Ne s'il a auques conquesté.
 "Oie, fait-il, plus de m. mars
 Que i'averai ainçois domars
 Se nos nos poons bien aidier
 De rover et de sohaidier."
- 150 Puis li conta trestot l'afaire,
 Comment il puet .III. sohaiis faire.
 "S'en averes .I. bele amie.
 Celle respont: Io n'en quier mie
 Se ie n'en ai deus tos entires."
- 155 Au deerain gist li maistires.
 Dont respondi li faus gorgis
 Qui a la dame estoit sougis:
 "Dieus en aies, iel vos otroi,
 Gardes qu'il soient bon tot troi.
- 160 Cele respont: Del vo penses
 Et si soies bien porpensés,
 Et ie repenserai des miens
 Ausi con cascuns fait des siens.
 Io ne lairai comment qu'il prenge
- 165 Que io a haidier (vos) n'aprenge."
 Li dame avoit .I. enfançon,
 Petit de molt bele façon;
 Devant li aloit catonant;
 Ele li dist de maintenant:
- 170 "Ie vos sohaide, sire fils,
 Por ce que vos estes si pius,
 Que vos aies plus longue barbe

142-143. Cf. *La Veuve*, 49-50.

146-147. Cf. *La Veuve*, 423-424.

159. Gautier seems to have forgotten that she is to have only two wishes.

172. Upon the popular medieval superstition relative to the importance of the beard, cf. Bédier, *ed. cit.*, p. 471, where he cites passages from the *fabliau* of Jean

- Que soit li loiens d'une garbe."
 Et il l'out maintenant en oire
 175 Mais ele fu et blanc et noire;
 Dont li vilains sohaide miels:
 "Male goute te crie les iels.
 Cele respont: Voire les vos."
 Lues maintenant a ices mos
 180 Que li sohait furent falit,
 Leur sont li uel des cies salit,
 Si c'onques puis ne virent gote;
 Es dens lor feri une gote.
 Fortune qui les ot hauciés,
 185 Les a laidement abasciés.
 Poruec est drois, que que nus die,
 Que Damerdiex celui maudie
 Qui asses a et trop golose,
 Si confist li rois de Tolose
 190 Qui traï sa seror germainne
 Por avoir le roi Karlemainne.

The original dialect of the poem is evidently Picard, as appears from considerations of rhyme and syllable count:

1. Reduction of the triphthong *îée*: *fie* (12), cf. 20, 21, 35.
2. Confusion of *s* and *z*: *dois*: *redo* (56), cf. 124-125, 178-179.

de Condé, *Le Sentier battu* (M. & R. III, 247) and from a *jeu parti* of Gillebert de Berneville where the following theme is proposed: "Une fillette a promis à un jeune garçon amour eternal. Ils grandissent ainsi. Le jeune garçon devient un bachelier de grande vaillance et prudence. Mais à l'âge où il est armé chevalier, il ne lui est pas encore venu un poil de barbe, et il est à prévoir qu'il demeurera toujours glabre. *Puet l'amours dureir ne valoir?*" In several other versions of this fable (fable of Phaedrus and a *conte* of the *Pentamerone*), the mother wishes a beard for her infant child, cf. Bédier, *ed. cit.*, 214.

184. Cf. the closing verses of the *fabliau Du Foteor* (M. & R. I, 304) where the opposite is true:

De povrete vint à richece

 Mais Fortune a qui il servi
 L'en donna ce qu'il deservi.

189. We have not been able to explain this allusion by reference to either the real or legendary history of Charlemagne. Can it refer to an episode in some lost *chanson de geste*?

3. Constant distinction of *a* plus nasal plus consonant and *e* plus nasal plus consonant in more than ten sets of rhymes.

4. *No* and *vo* attested by syllable count alongside of *nostre*, *vostre*: cf. 82, 160, etc.

Note the rhymes *faus* (*falsum*): *faus* (*fagos*) 121; *filz*: *pius*, 170; *entires*: *maistires*, 154; and the forms *poomes* (7), *averai* (81, 147), *averes* (152); *donrons* (124, 134).

B.—DEL FOL VILAIN

Middleton manuscript, 337 r. a.—338 v. b.

The theme of this *fabliau* is nothing more nor less than that of *La Sorisette des estopes* (M. & R., IV, 158), preceded by a long and rambling sketch containing various incidents in the life of the *fol vilain*. The characteristics of the *fol vilain* are exaggerated and traditional, and do not recall the faithful character portrayal of *La Veuve*. The inconceivable stupidity of the *vilain* in this *fabliau* is a re-echo of Gautier's *Sot chevalier*, and it is curious to note that Montaiglon had already made the *rapprochement* between the *Sot chevalier*, then anonymous, and the *Sorisette des estopes*.⁷⁵ The theme of *Del fol vilain* does not appear to be found in literary tradition before Gautier and may be his invention. On the basis of the close similarity between *Del fol vilain* and *La Sorisette des estopes*, a similarity which extends to numerous details although the latter is much shorter, can we represent Gautier as the author of both *fabliaux*? We have already noted Gautier's tendency to repetition especially in the case of his two *dits*, one of which is merely an abridgment of the other with much textual repetition. It would seem natural therefore in this case for him to expand or abridge a theme which may have had some success and introduce slight changes perhaps to accommodate it to a different public. In *La Sorisette des estopes* the lover is a priest. However, it exhibits no pronounced Picard dialectal traits and shows no textual repetition of verses or locutions evidently Gautier's. Notable, however, is the close resemblance in idea between its opening verses and those of *Del sot chevalier*. Gautier names himself as author of *Del fol vilain* in verse 373.

⁷⁵ M. & R. IV, p. 280.

Text of *Del fol vilain*:

B.—*Del Fol Vilain*

- Puis qu'il vient à vos tos à bel,
Dire me covient .I. fablel
Qui n'est de contes ne de rois,
De garnemens ne de conrois,
5 Mais d'un grant vilain malostrut;
Non eut Evrars li fils Tietrut.
Cille Tietrus fu tote lorde
Et si refu et borgne et sorde.
Ses barons ot non Gonderres,
10 Onques ne fu tondus ne res.
Gros eut le cief, les ceviax ros
Et nes de cat et hure d'ors.
Evrars ses fius fu ansi fais.
De se matere et de ses fais
15 Vos volrai ia un poi retraire:
Si con il volt sen ombre traire
La u s'aleve deduissant
Tos seus a le lune luissant;
Si porteve sen arc tendut.
20 Tant eut al aler entendut
Qu'il vit de lui le forme vaine
Selonc une moie d'avainne;
Se cuida que ce fust Robues
Qui li volist embler ses bues.
25 Quant li vilains sen ombre voit,
D'une grant geule qu'il avoit
A escriet: "Or cha, baron,
Vesci Robuedin le laron."
Tant a criet et bas et haut
30 Qu'il (i) vinrent li fil Mehaut:
C'est Hellines et Godefrois
Qui gardevent lor palefrois.
Quant li vilains vit le secors
Encontre aus est venus le cors,

30. The verse lacks a syllable as it stands in the manuscript. This is corrected if we write *que* for *qu'* or insert an *i* before *vinrent*.

- 35 Si lor a dit conme musars:
 "Penses que Robuedins soit ars;
 Il doit bien estre a mort iuciés,
 Il est en ces gerbes muciés."
 Si vilains par ahatisson
- 40 A envoiet por un tisson,
 S'a en trois lius le moie esprise,
 Puis a une grant maque prise;
 Si va entor le feu criant:
 Lere, que vas-te detriant?
- 45 Car huce *Dex consumatus*
 Ains que tu soies abatus."
 Mais li leres n'en savoit mot
 Qu'il li rovast dire cel mot
 Car il estoit à Walecort
- 50 A l'ostel Englebert le cort
 Qui maint laron ot sostoitiet.
 Tant a Evrars le feu coitiet
 Qu'il ne remest palle ne grains;
 Mais puis en fu dolans et grains
- 55 Qu'il li covint le moie soire
 Le segnor Baudouins de Soire
 Qui l'avainne avoit fait soier
 Et amasser et amoier.
 Puis li ravint en es le mois
- 60 Qu'il vendi .I. mui de tremois.
 Quant il eut les deniers recius
 Il a quatre boriois percus
 Qui bevoient molt durement
 Claret à çucre et à pument.
- 65 Li vilains est cele part trais
 Quant il lor voit boire grans trais,
 Si lor a dit par grant dangier:
 "Poroie ioste vos mangier?"
 Cil virent le vilain redois
- 70 As grandes mains et as lais dois
 Et à le cape corte et viés.
 "Amis, fait il, nos bevons miés.
 Or venes sapijer qu'il set,
 Puis nos en dites vo penset."

49. Walecort: Walcourt in Belgium (Namur).

72. The sense seems to require *font il for fait il*.

- 75 Atant li puirent le hanap
Et cil li a donet un lap.
Encor fust il grant et parfons
Si le but il descì qu'el fons,
Puis dist: "Bien ait qui te brasa
80 Et qui premiers te porpensa."
Puis fait mander des blans gasteax,
Des flaans et des canestiax,
Et un grant maquerel salet,
Et si but trois los de claret;
85 Mais tant i ot à apaier,
Quant ce vint à l'escot paier,
Qu'il i covint venir Guinant
Qui provos estoit de Dinant,
Qui le fist laier sen sorcot
90 Por .III. deniers de sen escot.
Encor fist il autre folie
Car farine li ert falie,
Si boli sen lait à le cauc.
Cil qui abevrerent le sauc
95 Estoiens si cousin germain;
Il meïsmes i mist sa main,
Si l'aida tant à abascier
Qu'il le fist en l'eve plascier.
Puis fist à unes rovoisons
100 Escorcier trestos ses oisons
Poruec c'on li eut dit en fable
Qu'il devenroient trestot sable.
Encor fist il une lordure
Qui molt li fu et aspre et dure,
105 Qui li avint par un demars
Qu'il enfoi plus de .VII. mars
Joste un vivier en une arainne;
D'autre part crioit une rainne.
Si disoit .VIII., c'estoit avis,
110 Et li vilains entaioit vis.
"Pute, fait il, vòs i mentés,
Jes ai plus de .VII. fois contés."
Entruet qu'il crioient ensanle,
Uns escuiers illuec s'asanle.

88. Dinant in Belgium (Namur) on the Meuse. Today a town of 8,000 inhabitants.

- 115 "Diva, fait il, qu'as te à tencier
Et ne sai cui à manecier.
Sire, fait il, cille ranuce
Qui en cele eve saut et muce,
Dist que i'ai chi .VIII. mars repus,
- 120 Mais no geline n'a puis pus
Que ies contai por Saint Remi,
N'en i a que .VII. et demi.
Cil gissent desos cele pierre,
Mais nus n'en puet savoir espriere
- 125 Fors le ranuce qui le vit.
Ce poisse moi qu'ele tant vit."
Li escuiers respont briement:
"Va por .I. fust isnelement,
Si l'ocirai, se Dex me voie."
- 130 Atant se met cil à la voie,
Si vait el bos un fust cuellir
Et cil vait l'argent recuellir.
Encor fist il une merveille
Qu'il s'en aleve à une velle
- 135 Tos seus parmi une vert prée,
Molt estoit bele la vesprée.
Il ascouta aval les cans,
S'oï des davodiaus les cans,
Qui s'en alevent devant lui;
- 140 Robins i estoit de Felluj,
Et Gautelos et Roimondins,
Et le fuis Godefroit Bondins.
Quant cil ses compagnons entent,
Plus n'i areste ne atent,
- 145 Tant a alet plus que le pas
Qu'il est venus à un trespas,
En une cave ioste un mont,
Si escria: "Roimont, Roimont,
Atendes me, ie vois, ie vois."
- 150 Li mons ens el fin de le vois
Retentissoit si durement
Qu'il cuida bien visablement
Que ce fust Roimondins li clos
Qui en le roce fust enclos.

- 155 Il li escrie de recief:
 "Mar i mucastes par men cief;
 En afors (vos) covenra sallir."
 Adont vait le roce asallir,
 Si a plus de .C. cols getés,
- 160 Mais il i ot ases detés
 Qui molt li fissent grant anuj
 Car il repairoient sor luj.
 Tant i geta que de ses cols
 Li fu trestos sanglens li cols
- 165 Et li viaires tos vermaus.
 Mais puis en dut estre grans maus
 Car il se plainst à se parage
 Que par orguel et par oltrage
 L'avoient il quatre asalit
- 170 Con recreant et con falit.
 Mais li voisin en dissent tant,
 Qui le troverent seul getant,
 Que cil en furent descoupé.
 Cil Evrars fu parens Coupé
- 175 Dont vos aves oï pieça
 Qui le messe reconmença.
 C'avint Evrart et plus asses,
 Car ains que li ans fust passés,
 Li aplaidierent si parent
- 180 Qui conversoient la parent,
 Une pucele sans avoir,
 Mais molt estoit de grant savoir,
 Et de beauté molt renommée.
 Uns escuiers l'avoit amée
- 185 Sans vilonie et sans hontage.
 Li vilains por sen iretage
 L'eut ases plus que por son sens.
 Li pucelle ot à non Mainsens,
 Et les amis ot non Robers
- 190 Qui ne restoit mie bobers;
 Ains est à s'amie venus,
 Molt simplement s'est maintenus,
 Se li a dit à morne ciere:
 "Ma douce suer, m'amie ciere,

157. The verse as it stands in the manuscript has too many syllables.

174. Obscure reference, perhaps to a lost *fabliau* of Gautier; cf. above, p. 18.

- 195 Se cis sos a vo pucelage,
 J'en averai el cors le rage.
 Vos m'aves grant pieça promis
 Qu'il l'averait vos dols amis.
 Cele respont: S'il pooit estre
- 200 Que vos fuscies le nuit en l'estre
 Pres de le cambre en .I. escons,
 Delivrés vos seroit li cons.
 Et cil respont: Ma douce amie,
 Por tant ne remanra il mie."
- 205 Atant s'en va li damoiseaus
 Deduire as ciens et as oiseaus,
 Et cele qui ases savoit,
 En une la qu'ele avoit
 Que ses amis li ot tramise,
- 210 A une grande soris mise,
 Si le garda tros qu'al termine,
 Si c'onques ni senti famine,
 Que cil a fait sen asanlée.
 Ermenfrois i vint barbe lée
- 215 Et Gondüins et Godebers,
 Et Warenbaus et Warenbers,
 Et des autres vilains .CC.
 Qui ne flairoient mie encens.
 Si ot .xl. davodiaus
- 220 A flahutes et à festiaus.
 La vëiscies en mi l'estrée
 Tante iument enqui estrée.
 Un diemence par matin
 A le capele Saint Martin
- 225 Fu esposée Maiselos
 Qui de beauté avoit le los.
 Quant li services fu finés
 A le vile o Evrars fu nes
 En a portée se mollier.
- 230 Qui la vëist sopes mollier
 En une caudiere bolant
 O avoit car de truie olant
 C'on diut le nuit manger al poivre;
 Si fist on savor de genoivre.

- 235 Le nuit fu li vilains molt baus,
 Ases i ot tresces et baus,
 Mais cele ot tres bien et entent
 Que ses amis la fors l'atent.
 Si a son baron apelet,
 240 Se li a bien dit et malet
 Qu'ens en le canbre ne remagne
 Feme qui en le vile magne.
 Et cil qui fu de fol cuidier
 Lor a fait le canbre widier,
 245 Puis a fremé l'uis par dedans,
 Apres a eskignié les dens,
 Vers celi vient tos eslaciés,
 Puis dist: "Vos ganbes eslassiés!
 Je vos volrai mateculer."
 250 Cele commence à reculer,
 Si fist .I. poi le plorivet,
 Puis dist: "Ostes vo borlivet,
 Vos ne l'aries en moi u metre,
 Ne por doner ne por prometre.
 255 J'ai men con en maison lasciet,
 En le huge dalés lasciet.
 La le lascaie senmedi
 En droite eure de miedi,
 Car ie cremoie le qascier
 260 Al aler et au cevalcier.
 Se vos le volies raporter,
 Si nos poriemes deporter.
 Je n'i os autrui envoyer
 Car ie criem molt le desvoier;
 265 Ne volroie por nule rien
 Nus i adesast de sen rien,
 Car il me seroit reprovét."
 Or entendes del fol provet
 Comment se feme le desvoie
 270 Qui por sen con querre l'envoie
 Ensus de li une grant liue.
 Li vilains monte sor sen iue,
 Ainc ne fina descî qu'al mes
 U li cons dut estre remes.

266. For a similar use of *rien*, cf. the *fabliau De Porcelet* (M. & R. IV, 145).

- 275 Le laa prent, si s'en retourne.
 Et cele d'autre part s'atorne;
 Si est a sen ami venue
 En sa cemissee tote nue,
 Et cil qui molt l'eut desirée
- 280 Ne li fist mie ciere irée,
 Ains l'a entre ses bras saisie,
 Si l'a molt dolcement baisie,
 Et se li fist plus de .III. fois
 Sans maltalent et sans defois.
- 285 Or rediromes del vilain
 Qui tant a qotié Morain
 Qu'il a trovet ens en un val
 Un gues c'on passoit à ceval.
 La a se iument abevrée
- 290 Qu'il avoit molt le nuit grevée,
 Et li soris pas ne repose
 Qui en le la estoit enclose.
 Cil ot le soris randoner,
 Li vis li prent à brandoner.
- 295 "Certes, fait il, ce m'est avis,
 Que por cest con m'esta li vis.
 Je le veroie volentiers
 Savoir s'il est sains et entiers,
 Car i'ai maintes fois oï dire
- 300 Nus ne vit onques con entire
 Qu'il ne fust fendus o traués;
 Mais ains que g'isse de cest wes,
 Saraie con fait li con sont
 Et con faites cières il font."
- 305 Puis a le laa descoverte,
 Si l'a trestote en ample overte.
 A icest mot li soris saut;
 Tantost con le laa li faut,
 S'est volée tote sovaine
- 310 En mi le fil de la ravine.
 Mais li nuis estoit si obscure

286. The verse lacks a syllable as it stands here and in the manuscript. It is possible that a compound *aqotié* was used and that by an oversight the *a* of the compound was omitted by the scribe. Morain seems to be the horse's name. Cf. M. & R. IV, 230 where Morant is the name of a dog, and M. & R. I, 93 where Morel is the name of a black horse.

- C'on ne puet coisir le figure
De le soris ne le sanlance.
Adont li vint en ramenbrance
315 De Damerdieu apreecier;
Adont commença à hucier:
"Sains Gilles ie vos requerrai
Se ie le con me feme rai."
Puis est ens en l'eve salis
320 Si que li pres li est falis.
Tant quist le con de totes pars
Que li parlemens fu espars
De celi et de son ami.
Or entendes I poi, ami,
325 Comment le baceler avint
Quant il ariere s'en revint.
Il est venus au gues errant
Si cuida abevrer Ferrant,
Si a vëut oscurement
330 Le vilain ioste se iument.
Il li a dit: "Sont ce nuitun
Qui la peskent en cel betun?
—Nenil, amis, ains suj uns hon
Qui bien commenceroit à son.
335 Je suis trestos li plus dolens
Qui soit dementres qu'à Meulens.
L'avoie une pucelle prise
Preut et cortoise et bien aprise,
S'avoit ca sen con commandet,
340 Or l'avoit par moi remandet.
Si l'ai en ceste eve perduto."
Dont a li valles respondut:
"Amis, fait il, se Dex me voie,
Je l'encontrai en ceste voie.

324-325. Between these two verses the following two lines are crossed out in the manuscript:

Se vos dirai qu'il en avint
Un vilain qui rices devint.

328. Ferrant, color of iron, seems to have been a common name for a horse; for another occurrence of the name cf. the *fabliau Des .ii. chevals* (M. & R. I, 159-160).

336. Meulens: Meulan (Seine et Oise), on the Seine.

- 345 Il puet ia estre à te maison."
 Quant cil entendi le raison,
 Il est sallis de l'eve fors,
 Car molt estoit vistes e fors.
 Puis vait criant: "Men con, men con!"
- 350 Or entendes del fol bricon:
 Ainc cil cris ne puet remanoir
 Desci qu'il vint a son manoir.
 Se feme vait au piet caïr,
 Puis dist: "Molt me poes haïr,
- 355 Car i'ai perdu no Conebert
 El gues Martin le fil Herbert.
 Cele respont: "Sire, iel rai,
 —Certes, fait il, ia nel crerai
 Se ie nel sent tot nut à nut."
- 360 Atant sont ensanle venut;
 Cele li a tant consentit
 Qu'il a le con de plain sentit.
 Mais il ot estet en estor,
 S'estoit .I. poi sullens entor.
- 365 Dist li vilains: "Il est mollié
 Et del betun encor sollié,
 Par ço sage bien que c'est il,
 Or laies resuer l'ostil
 Si ferai ço que faire doi."
- 370 Atant s'en vont dormir andoi.
 Gauters li Leus atant le lait
 Le conte del fol vilain lait.
 De quanque il fisent puis ce di,
 Je n'en sai plus ne plus n'en di.

The following are the most characteristic traits, evidently Picard.

1. Reduction of the triphthong *îée*: *saisie*: *baisie* (281-282), the only case.

2. Confusion of *s* and *z*: *musars*: *ars* (35), cf. also 45-46, 69-70, 105-106, 149-150, 187-188; 217-218, 235-236, 321-322, 347-348, etc.

356. Probably a real locality.

3. Constant distinction (about twenty cases) of *a* plus nasal plus consonant and *e* plus nasal plus consonant.

4. *No* and *vo* alongside of *nostre* and *vostre*: 195, 252, 355.

5. Pretonic *e* apparently kept here as in the other poems, falls occasionally in the past participle: *percius*, *recius* (61-62), alongside of *vẽut* (329). The early fall of this *e* in past participles is a characteristic feature of Artois and Haute Picardie.

The following rhymes are worthy of note: *cauc*: *sauc* (93-94); *vermaus*: *maus* (165-166); *dire*: *entire* (299-300) and also *te* = *tu* attested by the elision (115); *averai* (196); *averoit* (198); *liue* (271); *wes*: *traves* (301-302). The verb form *poriemes* (262) is of interest. The first person plural form *-iens* preserved as a dialectal form in the north and east is here replaced by an analogical form *-iemes* found in a restricted area in what is now Belgian Hainaut, Departments of the Nord and Pas de Calais. The future 1st person plural ending as seen in *rediromes* (285) is especially attested for Belgian Hainaut.

The body of the text of our *fabliau* contains a number of imperfects which are Walloon rather than Picard and which may or may not be due to the author: *s'aleve* (17); *porteve* (19); *gardevent* (32); *aleve* (134); *alevent* (139).

The rhyme, *set*: *penset* (73-74) would appear to indicate that the *t* in these participial forms was still pronounced.

C.—DE DEUX VILAINS

Middleton manuscript 343 r. b.—344 r. a.

Gautier Le Leu names himself as the author of this *fabliau* both at the beginning (v. 1) and at the end (v. 176). According to the author the trivial subject matter was picked up by him in his wanderings and formed his eleventh *fabliau*. It recalls the night adventures of the *chevaliers* in Gautier's *Del sot chevalier*.

De Deux Vilains

Gautiers qui fist de Conebert
Et del sot chevalier Robiert
Nos aconté d'une aventure
Qu'il a fait metre en escriture,

- 5 Qu'il avint deus vilains d'Erasce
 Qui s'en alevent en Tierasce.
 Levé furent à la iornée,
 Molt fisent cel ior grant iornée.
 Quant il furent à ostel trait
- 10 Molt furent lasset et estrait.
 Li ainsnes en fu si atains
 Qu'il en fu tos pales et tains
 Qu'ainc cele nuit ne puet manger;
 Ainc tant ne l'en s'ut on blanger
- 15 Plus que le mole de deus tors
 Qu'il avoit pelés tot entors,
 Et un navel en l'aistre cuit.
 Cel mania il si com ie cuit,
 Et li autres mania asses
- 20 Qui n'estoit mie si lassés.
 Puis se colcierent en .I. lit
 Car lassé erent et delit;
 Ases dormirent cele nuit
 Desci qu'apres le mienuit
- 25 Que li ainsnes s'est esvelliés,
 Qui plus ot esté travelliés.
 Son compaignon apele et bote.
 "Diva, fait il, en oste gote;
 Io ai si fain, ce m'est avis,
- 30 A poi que ie n'en rage vis
 Et si en cuit perdre le sens.
 Savees nient en nul asens
 U il ait pain n'autre despense?"
 Atant li valles se porpense,
- 35 "Amis, fait il, por nul avoir
 Ne poroie ie pain avoir
 Se ie men oste n'esvelloie,
 Et ie molt ne m'en travelloie,
 Et si seroit certes molt lait;

5. Erasce: Arras (Pas de Calais)?

6. Tierasce, name today found in many names of villages of the arrondissement of Vervins (Aisne): La Capelle en Thiérache, etc., and of the arrondissement of Avesnes (Nord): Floyon en Thiérache, etc. The ancient province is divided into cantons which today lie in the Dep'ts of the Aisne, Nord, and Ardennes.

- 40 Mais d'un grumel boli au lait
Remest ersoir demis un pos;
Or soies tos quois en repos
Et si vos soies deporter.
Ie vos en corrai apporter;
- 45 Se ie puis au pot avenir
Vos en ares au revenir."
Lors s'est levés del lit tos nus,
Desci qu'el flage en est venus;
Tant quist le pot qu'il l'a trovet;
- 50 Puis a son destre brac levet;
Le loce prent par le pumel
Qui estequieve ens el grumel.
Fors l'en a trait tote hovée;
Puis l'a encontrement levée.
- 55 Si est ariere repairiés,
Mais il est auques desairiés,
Car il ne set le liu ne l'estre.
Tant a alet devers senestre
Qu'il est venus au lit sen oste;
- 60 Puis dist tot coiemet: "En oste,
Voisci ce que io t'ai promis."
Et li dame avoit sen cul mis
Sor l'esponde tot descovert,
Si tenoit tot le trau overt.
- 65 Mais ele ert si fet endormie
Qu'ele celui n'entendoit mie.
Ains sonioit une grant merveille
Qu'il s'en aleve à une velle,
Si estoit aore tornée.
- 70 Or entendes la destinée.
Li valles qui le louce aporte
Estoit fils Rogier de la Porte,

67-68 occur almost textually as in *Del fol vilain*, 133-134. They are here followed by 2 verses which are crossed out in the manuscript and which are in their place in *Del fol vilain*, 135-136. The lines were evidently running in the scribe's mind as he had just finished copying *Del fol vilain*. In v. 68, the manuscript has *Qu'il*. The context evidently requires a feminine pronoun. *Il* occasionally stands as a feminine nominative form (cf. Schwan-Behrens: *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, paragraph 322, 3, note). The *il* in our verse may be merely due to the careless use of the line already used elsewhere.

- Et si ert coxins au prudome.
 Quant il perçoit le cul le dome
 75 Et il le vit oscurement,
 Il cuida bien visablement
 Que ce fust cil qui l'atendoit.
 Deseur le trau a mis sen doit;
 Si senti qu'il estoit velus,
 80 Et ses conpaing estoit barbus;
 Lors cuide estre bien asenés,
 Molt pres del trau a mis sen nes.
 Quant il le senti mu et goit,
 Il dist qoiement en requoit:
 85 "Cis est pasmés, iel sai de fit,
 Li famine l'a desconfit.
 Mais ie l'en ferai ia mecine
 Tot sans erbes et sans racine."
 Puis le baisa demaintenant
 90 Plus de trois fois en .I. tenant.
 Ce fist il por lui revenir,
 Car on voit souvent avenir
 C'on baise caus qui pasmé sont
 Si ami qui entor luj sont.
 95 Entrues qu'il basieve crenel,
 Li saut uns vens fors de l'anel
 Qui rendi grant noise et grans pous.
 Il cuida qu'il soflast les pous.
 "Ahi, fait il, mal èureus,
 100 Vos n'estes gaires famelleus
 Qui le sofles et s'est tos frois.
 Del bu cuidies ce soit l'anfrois?
 Bien faites ço c'on doit lascier.
 Ie vos vi bien ersoir mascier
 105 Les tors pelés et les naviaus;
 Vostre alainne n'est pas reviaus,

87-88. Cf. *De Dieu et dou pescur*, 181-182.

94. We have not found this custom mentioned elsewhere. Gautier is so careful about explaining it to his audience that it seems that he probably invented it for the occasion.

102. A puzzling verse. Godefroy has *enfroit: glacé par la mort*. If this is the word which we have in the text, it would be employed as substantive: cold part of the body.

- Ains est plus orde et plus pusnaise
 Que ne soit vesse de pasnaise.
 Vo feme n'en puet nien en part
 110 Se ele aime Robert Lopart,
 Car molt i a bel baceler.
 Certes ie nel quier à celer,
 Pusnais doit bien estre Wihos."
 Atant resofle li buhos
 115 Ens el nes celui de recief,
 Et il en a croslet le cief.
 "Ahi, fait il, caitis cucus,
 Vos pües plus que face uns cus,
 Mais ie sai bien par St. Germain,
 120 Se vos ne locies aparmain,
 Ie vos ferrai ens el viaire."
 A icest mot li cus s'esclaire,
 Si gieta une grant gillorde.
 Dist li valles: "Cis fols mal orde
 125 Qui ci me fait à lui entendre."
 Atant lait le loce destendre,
 Si l'en fiert si plain le havart
 Que Conebers en eut sa part,
 Et contremont descî ques nages
 130 Fu respandus li compenages.
 Et li dame s'est esvellie
 Qui del songier ert travellie.
 Son cul qui tos estoit solliés,
 Tos grumeleus et tos molliés,
 135 Fira en le cors sen marit
 Qui molt en ot le sens marit,
 Quant il s'esvelle et il le sent.
 "Ahi, fait il, dame Mainsent,
 Honit m'aves, de fit le sai,
 140 l'amasse mels estre en Ausai
 U decî qu'as mons de Mongiu.
 Certes ci a molt vilain giu.
 S'or le savoient vo parent
 Et un voisin de ci parent,

140. Ausai: Alsace.

141. Cf. Mont. & Ray. VI, 353: Mongeu, Monjeux en Franche-Comté; cf. also Mont. & R. II, 130-131, *Une Branche d'Armes*, v. 18-22:

- 145 Vos en series molt avillie
 Et vos et tote vo lignie."
 Quant li valles l'a entendut
 Il a son destre brac tendut,
 Tant s'est de totes pars erciés
- 150 Qu'il est à son lit aderciés;
 Son compaignon conta l'afaire,
 Et li prodom fist .I. baing faire,
 Si se sont bagniet et lavet,
 Et cil sont al matin levet;
- 155 S'ont à lor oste congiet pris.
 Cil fu cortois et bien apris,
 Si les a à Deu conmandés,
 Et si lor a deus pains mandés
 Qu'il lor dona de bone estrine.
- 160 Et li dame fu molt estrine
 Vers son segnor et molt sogite
 Car ele cuidoit estre engite,
 Et si cuide bien avoir fait
 Le vilonie et le mesfait
- 165 Poruec qu'ele l'avoit songiet.
 Et cil qui eurent pris congiet
 Sont revenu en Ostrevant
 La dont il furent nuit devant.
 Sacies de fit que Li Goulius
- 170 Le raconta en tamains lius
 A Saint Amant et à Marcienes.
 Uns bachelers de Valenciennes
 Qui avoit esté ens el leu
 Le raconta Gauter le Leu

Ne cuide que riens li puist nuire,
 Qui tressaut la mer d'Engleterre
 Por une aventure conquerre,
 Si fet il les mons de Mongeu,
 La sont ses festes et si geu.

167. Ostrevant: a former district of France lying in what is now the Dep'ts of the Nord and Pas de Calais. Two towns in Pas de Calais still keep the name: Marcq en Ostrevant and Saily en Ostrevant.

171. Saint Amant: Saint Amand les Eaux (Nord) on the River Scarpe Marcienes (Nord) on the Scarpe.

172. Valenciennes (Nord) on the Scheldt.

- 175 Et il mist le fabel en rime.
 X en a fait, vesci l'onsime.
 Car fuscent or si atornées
 Totes les dames mestornées
 Qui ont les maris bons et beax
 180 Ses honiscent par lor lembeax.

The following are the most characteristic traits, evidently Picard:

1. Reduction of the triphthong *îée*: *esvellie*: *travellie* (131-132), cf. 145: 146.
2. Confusion of *z* and *s*: *tors*: *entors* (15-16), cf. 41-42; 81-82, etc.
3. Constant distinction in rhyme of numerous cases of *a* plus nasal plus consonant and *e* plus nasal plus consonant.
4. *No* and *vo* alongside of *nostre* and *vostre* attested by syllable count: cf. 109, 143, 146, etc.

Note the rhymes *leu* (*locum*): *leu* (*lupum*) 173-174; *rime*: *onsime* (175-176). The same observation may be made here as in previous cases concerning certain Walloon verb forms occurring in the body of the text: *alevent* (6), *estequieve* (52), *baiseve* (95).

D.—DE DIEU ET DOU PESCOUR

Middleton manuscript 344, *r. a.*—345 *v. b.*

This *fabliau* because of its irreverence recalls *Saint Pierre et le Jongleur* (M. & R. V, 65) and *Le Vilain qui conquist Paradis par Plaid* (ibid. III, 209). It has, it seems to us, several titles of interest. In the first place we have here an early manifestation of the essential ideas of the dance of death which became so popular in the literature and art of the later Middle Ages. The earliest evidence of the general idea in vernacular literature is supposed to be found in the *Vers de la Mort* of Hélinand (died after 1229). If our conjectures as to the period of Gautier's activity are correct, he was a contemporary of Hélinand and we might infer that the idea was already in the air. In our

177. Cf. this moral with that of *Connebert*, verse 302 f. where the first verse is identical.

fabliau, the equality of men before death and the suddenness of the blows which death strikes are clearly indicated. In this picture mounted allegorical figures of death and his henchmen, the various fevers, are showing themselves implacable to mortals. Death says: "I am Death; no man who is bitten by my mouth can find any remedy or cure either of herb or root. I am Death which strikes down every living creature; I spare neither man nor woman nor any born thing; I bring down the mighty from their lofty positions and I never accept any bribe either from count or cat (verses 184-193)." Mounted allegorical figures of this type are first to be found in the vernacular in the poems of Raoul de Houdenc, of whom Gautier was probably also a contemporary.

In the second place, *De Dieu et dou pescour* seems to be of some importance for the history of thought. To find the commonplace attack on venality in the church laid directly to the charge of Christ, even when attenuated by the placing of the responsibility upon "*Envie*," is an interesting attitude and the early date of the pronouncement makes it valuable. It recalls the attitude of much of the literature immediately preceding the Reformation. Gautier's allegorical attempt is muddled and its obscurity and lack of sequence suggest a hasty adaptation of some source or perhaps several sources, which however we have not been successful in finding. Gautier himself tells us that he found it in a book (verses 7-8). He names himself without surname in the first verse. The presence of the poem in this *suite* of *fabliaux* and accord of language between it and the remaining works of Gautier lead us to consider Gautier Le Leu as indubitably the author.⁷⁶

De Dieu et dou Pescour

Gauters nos dist une proverbe
Del Segnor qui fait croistre l'erbe,
Si con il prit anontion
Et il s'li porcession,

⁷⁶ Gautier again uses in this poem verses and figures employed by him elsewhere: cf. the parallel verses given in notes 67 and 84 and verses 181-182 with *Des deux vilains*, 87-88; and verse 239 with *De deux vilains*, 10.

Verses 199 f. contain a figure involving the various fevers which suggests a similar one in *Du C.*, 353 f.

- 5 Et il ala con hom carnaus
O ses apostles conmunaus,
Si con l'estorie nos aconté
Dont nos avons estrait cest conte,
Que Dex estoit à Tabarie,
10 S'ert repairiés de sa forie,
O lui estoient si menestre,
Apostle e evangelistre.
Iudas qui plus fu emparlés
Li sist à son senestre lés;
15 Se li a dit par grant dangier:
"Sire, nos convenroit mangier.
Nos ne meniamés tres iernuit.
En ne cuidies qu'il nos anuit?
Faites des piscons acater,
20 Et si les faites tost haster.
Li pesciere nos maint ci pres
Chi de desos as deus cipres
—Iudas, fait Dex, ales i donques,
Si nel lascies por denier onques
25 Que nos n'acates des plus beax,
Des plus fres et des plus noveax."
A tant s'en est Iudas tornés,
Cil qui de Botentrot fu nés;
Ainc ne fina descî qu'au toit
30 La o li pescieres estoit.
Il i a dit une ranprosne:
"Vien ca avant, sueure cest prosne,
Ie te dirai que cil te mande
Qui le novele loi conmande,

9. *Tabarie*: Tiberias, town in Palestine on the lake of the same name.

28. *Botentrot*. This is the famous Butentrot of the *Chanson de Roland* (v. 3220). Cf. *Romania*, VII, 436; XI, 400 f.: Theodor Müller, *La Chanson de Roland*, Göttingen, 1878, p. 350. Outside of the manuscripts of the Roland it occurs in the vernacular only in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. P. Paris I, 166. "Butentrot est une vallée située en Cappadoce près du Taurus, à l'est d'Eregli, l'ancienne Héraclée. C'est dans la vallée de Butentrot qu'après la bataille de Dorylée que Tancrede et Baudouin, marchant en tête de l'armée, se séparèrent, le premier se rendant à Tarse par la Porta Judas." Butentrot is mentioned by a number of Latin historians. Albert d'Aix is the first to allude to the "porta quae vocatur Judas." Theo. Müller, *loc. cit.*, cites variant readings in the Roland where allusion is made to Botentrot as the place of origin of Judas. Gautier may have gotten his reference from one of these manuscripts of the Roland. P. F. Baum, writing upon the *Medieval Legend of Judas Iscariot* in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, V, 31, makes no reference to this legend, apparently popular.

- 35 Que tu des piscons li envoies.
Ahi, amis, se tu savoies
Que Damerdex celui promet
Qui de lui servir s'entremet,
Tu l'en denroies volentiers
- 40 Et des fendus et des entiers.
Cil li respont: Qui est vos sire,
Est-il vestus de dras de sire?
—Nenil, certes, ains sont tot bis
Si con il croist sor les berbis,
- 45 Et si va en tos tans descaus.
Ie suis Iudas ses senescaus.
Cil li respont: Es te Iudas
Qui tel folie demandas?
Ne tieng pas ton segnor à sage
- 50 Quant il de toi a fait mesage.
Tu li feras encor tel soivre
U il n'ara ne sel ne poivre;
Tu n'aras ia piscon que i'aie
Te mere dut estre te taie.”
- 55 Lues que Iudas l'ot et entent,
Plus n'i areste ne atent.
Nostre segnor le reva dire
Trestos dolans et tos plains d'ire.
“Sire, fait il, cis meus leciere
- 60 M'a fait por vos molt laide ciere
Se vos en doit molt anoier,
Car le faites en mer noier.
Iudas, fait Dex, ie sai de fit
Vos li aves dit un afit
- 65 Dont li prodom s'est coreciés.
Pieres, fait Dex, or vos dreciés,
S'ales vëir a le pescalle
Novel piscon à blanque escalle;
Nos acates que qu'il vos coste.”
- 70 Ce fu le nuit de Pentecoste
Que iuner doivent pecëor.
Saint Pieres vint au pescëor,
Si le salue hautement
Et cil li respondi briement:

- 75 "Pieres, molt vos venist pescier
Que sermoner ne preechier.
Vos sires nos promet tos dis
Que vos garderes paradis,
Si en seres maistres portiers.
- 80 Mels vos venroit estre porquiers.
Si vos dirai en quel maniere
Vos boteres celui ariere
Qui molt sera et grans et fors,
Que s'il vos puet tenir cafors
- 85 Vos en ares le capel trait
Si qu'il i covenra entrait;
Car des felons et des cuivers
Font leur portiers monie et convers,
S'en sont tamaintes fois maudit.
- 90 Dist Saint Pieres: Tu as voir dit."
Atant Saint Pieres s'en retourne
Grains et dolans à ciere morne;
Vers Damerdeu s'est adreciés;
"Sire, fait il, bien le sacies,
- 95 Iamais ne garderai vo porte.
—Ust cil qui les piscons aporte?"
Ce dist Iudas li otrageus.
Dist nostre sire: "C'est tos geus.
Que Pieres dist, de fit le sai,
- 100 Mais il me velt tocier au sai.
(Ce dist il por le desvoier)
As piscons me velt envoyer,
Mais ie irai puis qu'il l'a dit.
Ia n'i meterai contredit.
- 105 Queres qui les piscons aport.
Atant s'en va Dex vers le port.
Le pescëor trova seant
Deseur le bort de son calant.
Se li dist: "Amis, Dex te saut."
- 110 A cest mot li pesciere saut.
"Sire, fait il, cil vos benie
Qui tostans fu sans vilonie.

75. *molt*, probably a mistake of the copyist for *mels*. Cf. v. 80 below. The comparative idea is here needed as the construction indicates.

86. *entrait*. This very rare word occurs again in *Du C.*, v. 346.

- Amis, fait Dex, va, si me vent
De tes piscons par tel covent
- 115 Que ie n'en soie trop sopris
Car n'ai pas tel mestier apris.
—Sire, fait il, dont vos nomes,
Se vos tant les piscons ames?
—Amis, fait Dex, i'ai non Iesus.
- 120 Cil li a dit: Traies ensus,
Car ia n'enporteres de mi
Piscon entire ne demi,
Ne vos ne vostres voituriers.
Vos n'estes mie droituriers
- 125 Qui consentes les grans luxures
Les traisons et les usures,
Si faites faire les pardons
Por recevoir les rices dons.
Si vos tient on à covoiteus
- 130 S'en poes estre molt honteus
Qui ne tenes vraie iustice.
Vostre bontes en apetice
Se cil qui font les grans peciés
Avoient lues les cies trenciés.
- 135 Tels le fait qui s'en retrairroit
Et qui le folie lairoit.
Mais il pecent sor esperance
D'avoir à le mort repentance.
Mais cil est fol qui tant atent
- 140 Qu'il n'ot ne ne voit ne n'entent.
Et si aves maint ome fait
Lait et hisdeus et contrefait
Que vos dones .I. grant roïame
Et grant avoir et bele dame,
- 145 Et si refaites tel molt bel
Et molt hardi et molt isnel
Qui n'a de quoi il se raclevre
Ne que manger s'il ne le rueve.
Por ce die qu'à ceste fois
- 150 Vos sont mi piscon en defois."
Entrues que cil à Deu parole
Et il le tient à tele escole,

116. After this verse in the manuscript, verses 113-116 have been recopied inadvertently by the scribe.

- Es vos atant parmi I val
 Un home sor .I. noir ceval
 155 Qui molt estoit lais et hisdeus.
 Molt s'en est espoentés Deus,
 Car il portoit, c'estoit aviere,
 Un grant lusel et une biere,
 Et si avoit d'un blanc suaïre
 160 Covert le col et le viaire,
 Et si avoit, c'estoit avis,
 De cire les iels et le vis.
 Apres lui venoit une torbe
 Qui molt estoit hisdeuse et torbe,
 165 Et il avoit un capelain
 Qui molt estoit de lait pelain
 Qui aloit cantant *requian*
 Por l'ame le roi Iosuan.
 Et cil qui les autres convoie
 170 Devant aus s'est mis à le voie
 Si con cil qu nelui ne dote.
 "Diva, fait il, en oste gote,
 As te des piscons à plentet
 U est il auques de bontet?
 175 —Sire, fait il, par St. Germain,
 Mais ia n'i meteres le main,
 Ne por argent ne por or fin
 Se ne sai vo nom en la fin.
 —Amis, fait il, ie sui li mors
 180 Nus om n'est de me boce mors
 Qui puist avoir vers moi mecine
 Ne par erbe ne par racine.
 Je suis li mors qui tot asome,
 Je n'espargne feme ne home
 185 Ne nule rien de mere née
 Jo n'en abace le posnée,
 Ne ia n'en prendrai racat,
 Nient plus del conte que del cat.
 —Sire, fait il, ciste gens noire
 190 Qui vos sivent si tost en oïre,
 Qui sont il, car les me nomes.
 Je cuit qu'il ont en infer mes.

192. After this verse in the manuscript verses 189-192 have been recopied inadvertently by the scribe Cf. note to v. 116 above.

- Amis, fait il, c'est me maisnie
 Tos ces tieng io en main burnie.
- 195 Vois te celui qui si a froit
 Qui cevalce ce! palefroït
 Qui a de ces piaus de moton
 Covert le col et le crepon?
 Cil porte le fievre quartainne,
 200 Cil autres porte le tierçainne,
 Cil porte celes domeior
 Qui n'en ont cesse ne sejour,
 Et cil porte le vievre aguë:
 Qui le gent angosse et arguë:
 205 Si est escors et esplenisses
 Li sansmencons et li gausnisses
 Et li giste et li malenoirs.
 —Sire, fait il, puece estre voirs
 Que cil soient de tel mestier?
- 210 Oste les, ie n'en ai mestier
 Et ie vos en donrai .I. don
 Que ie vos metrai à bandon.
 Tos les piscons c'on puet nomer
 Qui sont en eve ne en mer,
 215 Si vos metrai aes les mons
 Des rices kis et des saumons.
 Prendez lesquels que vos voles.
 Voles des fres u des salés?
 Et si vos donrai plainne etine
 220 De lamproies en galentine.
 Ne ia n'en prendrai argent
 Ne de vos ne de vostre gent.
 Amis, fait il, vostre mercit
 De par celui qui tot occit,
 225 Or me covient vo non savoir.
 Dite, le vos feres savoir.
 —Sire, fait il, i'ai non Envie
 Qui à maint ome tol la vie.
 Je sui Envie li dolante;

199. The figure of the fevers is used by Gautier again in *Du C.*, v. 353 f.

226. *Dite* in the manuscript for *dites*. The *s* had probably fallen in pronunciation before *l*.

- 230 En est Covoitise men ante.
 —Envie, fait il, ie t'otroi
 Tant con ensanle en ierent troi
 Que tu seras tostans li quars.
 De ce ne soies pas coars.
- 235 Envie, tu durras tos dis
 Mais ia n'iras en paradis."
 Ensi ceste aventure avint
 Que Dex sans piscons s'en revint
 Et s'en fu estrais et lassés
- 240 Et li morille en eut asses.

Characteristic linguistic traits, evidently Picard:

1. Reduction of the triphthong *iée* in one case: *masnie: burnie* (193-194).
2. Confusion of *s* and *z*: *bis: berbiz* (43: 44); cf. 83-84; 179: 180; 191: 192.
3. Constant distinction of *a* plus nasal plus consonant and *e* plus nasal plus consonant in more than ten rhymes.
4. *No* and *vo* attested alongside of *nostre* and *vostre*: 41, 77, 95, 178, 225.

Note the following forms attested by the verse structure: *meterai* (104); *meteres* (176); *prendrai* (187 and 221); *donrai* (211 and 219); *durra* (235).

E.—LI PROVANCE DE FEMME

Middleton manuscript 338 v. b.—341 r. a.

Turin. Biblioteca Nazionale L. v. 32, fols. 167-170 (14th century). This manuscript was rendered useless by the fire of 1904. An 18th century copy exists at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (coll. Moreau, 1727, Mouchet 52).

Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 2168, 91 verso b-94 verso b (13th century). This manuscript is incomplete by about eighty verses at the end and lacks indications of authorship. The Middleton manuscript is therefore the only available complete medieval version.

No one of the manuscripts contains a title, with the exception of the Middleton manuscript. The title *La Veuve* was supplied

by Le Grand d'Aussy in 1779. We therefore restore the thirteenth century marginal title of *Li Provance de femme*. The poem has been thrice edited.⁷⁷

That Gautier Le Leu is the author of this *fabliau* appears from what we have said above.⁷⁸ The language has been recognized as strongly savourous of Picard,⁷⁹ and the Middleton version also exhibits strong Picard impregnation. In addition to the direct attribution of this *fabliau* to Gautier Le Leu in the Middleton manuscript there are a number of details which suggest other *fabliaux* of this author. A great majority of the rhymes have been used elsewhere in Gautier's work including some rare ones.⁸⁰ The future endings found in the Middleton and Paris manuscript in *-omes: diromes, averomes, lairomes* have already been commented upon.⁸¹ Certain rare expressions found here and elsewhere in Gautier's *fabliaux* are significant: *nuitun*,⁸² *lembel*⁸³ in an obscure sense, and the use of the verb *monter*⁸⁴ to express relationship, and a proper name possibly invented by Gautier to cover an obscene meaning: *Baucent*.⁸⁵ Certain verses of *Li Provance de femme* are repeated or closely

⁷⁷ Aug. Scheler: *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique* XXII, 477-502 and again in *Trouvères belges du XII^e siècle*, 1876, p. 225-241 (both times from the Turin manuscript with aid of the Mouchet copy in the 2d ed.); Mont. & Ray. *Recueil Général* II, 197 f. with the aid of all but the Middleton manuscript.

⁷⁸ Cf. p. 7 f.

⁷⁹ Bédier, *op. cit.* p. 440; 480; 481. Scheler, *loc. cit.* assigns the *fabliau* to what is now S. W. Belgium.

⁸⁰ Rhymes such as *escosse: bescosse*, 249-250, and *Del Sot Chevalier*, 300-301, etc.

⁸¹ Cf. above, p. 26, 52.

⁸² Upon the rarity of this word and the error of a copyist who did not recognize it, cf. Gaston Paris in Romania, XXXI, 102. It occurs here in verse 196 and *Del fo vilain*, 331.

⁸³ Godefroy in his dictionary noted the difficulty in its interpretation (cf. *lambel*). It occurs here in verse 104 and *De Deus Vilains*, 182.

⁸⁴ The verb *monter* in this sense is not noted by Godefroy, La Curne or in modern dictionaries Cf. *La Veuve*, v. 10, 228; *Les Souhails*, v. 62

⁸⁵ *Baucent*, not in the published version but in the Middleton manuscript, 352, and in the corresponding verse of manuscript Bib. Nat. f. fr. 2168.

Dame vous aves un gloton
Ki tous jors vauroit alaitier
Il a fait *Baucent* dehaitier

Cf. *Dit des C.*, v. 6 and 8; *Du C.*, v. 380.

paralleled in other *fabliaux* of Gautier.⁸⁶ There is also a clearly marked feature of *Li Provance de femme* which is repeated in *Del fol vilain*: lists of proper names many of which have a local savor, for example in the former work: Tybert, Martin, Herbert, Deudone, Baldwin, le filh Gobert, Gomer, li fiz sangnour Godefroit, Jehan, Godefroi, Gillebert, Focuin. Compare this with name lists in *Del fol vilain*: Martin le fil Herbert, le fil Mehaut, Hellines, Godefrois, Engelbert le Cort, Baudoin de Sorre, Robins de Felluy, Gautelos, Raimondins li clos, li fuis Godefroit, Bondins, Ermenfrois Barbe Lee, Gonduins, Godebers, Warenbaus. These names are not important for the stories and may represent a desire on Gautier's part to work into his *fabliaux* names of notorious characters of the region. Verse 237 of *Li Provance de femme* alludes in a general way to Orleans. Gautier's acquaintance with this town has already been commented on. In the light of evidence brought forward elsewhere in this article and of the features just pointed out we feel no hesitation in concluding that Gautier Le Leu is the author of *Li Provance de femme*.

The picture of the young widow has been a popular one in literature since Gautier. Sacchetti utilizes it in a *conte*;⁸⁷ and a fable of La Fontaine, among the best of his collection, resembles to a striking degree our *fabliau*, but it is improbable that La Fontaine knew it.

⁸⁶ Cf. vv. 49-50: *Les Souhails*, 142-143.

59-60: *Les Souhails*, 50-51.

309-310: *Les Souhails*, 8-9.

423-424: *Les Souhails*, 146-147: *Del fol vilain*, 105-106.

265: *Les Souhails*, 55.

(Middleton) 417: *Del fol vilain*, 307; *De Dieu et dou pescour*, 110.

(Middleton) 445-446: *Del sot chevalier*, 266-267.

(Middleton) 465-466: *Del sot chevalier*, 21-22: *Del fol vilain*, 205-206.

(Middleton) 288: *Du C.*, 42 and 36.

359-360: *Du C.*, 219-220.

Verses 370-376 (Middleton) repeat an obscene idea that reoccurs, expressed in much the same manner, in several passages of *Du C.* Verses 143 f. contain a figure in which enter certain botanical terms: *canelle*, *rute*, *venvole*. For an unusual figure of the same sort cf. *Du C.*, 267 ff.:

La croist li pitre et la cubie
Li gingebres et la turmie
La quanele, li garingaux
Li gingebres, li citoax.

⁸⁷ Cf. Gebhart (E), *Conteurs Florentins du Moyen Age*, p. 286-287.

F.—DEL SOT CHEVALIER

Middleton manuscript 341 *r. a.*—343 *r. b.* where it is given the marginal title of *De l'aventure d'Ardanne*
 Paris, Bib. Nat., *f. fr.*, 837 folios 277 *r.*—278 *v.* (13th century)

The *fabliau* has been published three times⁸⁸ from the Paris manuscript.

Le Grand d'Aussy⁸⁹ has ascribed this *fabliau* to a *jongleur* Jouglet upon no evidence whatsoever and Dinaux⁹⁰ considers that the author's home was in Liège, without giving any reasons. From the opening verses of *De .ii. vilains*, where reference is made to the *sot chevalier* Robiert, hero of our *fabliau*, it is certain that the author is Gautier Le Leu. The introductory verses of the Middleton version also contain what appears to be an allusion to the author's surname Li Leus.

Puis que je me vuel apoier
 A conter ne à fabloier,
 Je vous doi bien faire savoir
 Se *li leus* a tant de savoir
 C'on doive autorissier ses dis,
 D'une aventure qui jadis
 Avint en la terre d'Ardane
 A quatre liues pres d'Andane.

It has already been established that the *fabliau* exhibits traits distinctly Picard.⁹¹ The Middleton text is even more impregnated with Picardisms than the published version both in the rhyme and in the body of the text. It enables us to clear up numerous imperfect rhymes and to clarify doubtful

⁸⁸ Barbazan, *Fabliaux et contes*, Paris-Amsterdam, 1756, III, 202; Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes des poètes français des XII-XIV s.*, Paris, 1808, IV, 255; Mont. et Ray. *ed. cit.*, I, 220 ff.

⁸⁹ *Ed. cit.*, Preface, p. 77.

⁹⁰ Trouvères, *Jongleurs et Menestrels du Nord de la France et du midi de la la Belgique*, IV, 43. Under the title of "Anonyme Liégeois," the author says: Cette pièce (*Del Sot Chevalier*) appartient évidemment à la Belgique et a dû être composé par un trouvère de l'ancien pays de Liège qui a cru devoir garder l'anonyme, probablement à cause de la crudité du sujet. . . . Il a dû souvent égayer les chasseurs peu puritains des Ardennes qui aimaient les propos délurés et les bons contes.

⁹¹ Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

geographical allusions.⁹² We have in another place⁹³ already suggested the Sot Chevalier as a possible source for tale 34 of the *Heptameron* of the Queen of Navarre and pointed out a striking similarity between its first part and tales of certain Italian *conteurs*: Pietro Fortini⁹⁴ and Lodovico Domenichi, all of which leads us to believe that the old *fabliau* may have still been alive in oral transmission during the period of the Renaissance. The resemblance between the idea of its first part and that of the initial portion of *La Sorisette des estoppes* has already been referred to. We keep the name *Del sot chevalier* because of the apparent repetition of the title in verse 2 of *De deux vilains*.

G.—CONNEBERT

Bib. de Berne manuscript 354, folios 156 v°-159 r° (13th century).⁹⁵

Middleton manuscript 345 v. a. first 84 lines only, where the title *De Prestre ki pardi les colles* is scribbled in the margin in a 13th century hand.

We have already given the reasons for ascribing the *fabliau* to Gautier Le Leu, who names himself simply as Gautier in the opening verse. The *fabliau* exhibits certain Picard traits and there is no evidence to show that it was written in the Orléanais as Bédier indicates.⁹⁶ Conte 85 of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, the 15th century collection that has been attributed to Antoine de la Sale, seems to be a combination of the two *fabliaux* Connebert and *Le Fèvre de Creil* (M. & R. I., 231).⁹⁷ We point out the

⁹² For example, Andane (v. 8) for the doubtful Otane and Alost for unidentified Los (v. 104).

⁹³ In an article to appear shortly in the *Romanic Review* entitled *The Heptameron of the Queen of Navarre, A Study of Nouvelles* 28, 34, 52, 62.

⁹⁴ For the tale of Fortini, cf. *Raccolta de Novellieri Italiani*, Firenze, 1834, p. 1156, *novella terza*. For the conte of Domenichi cf. *Detti et fatti di diversi signori et persone private*, Firenze, 1562, p. 39; *Nouvelle XX* of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* deals with the same general idea.

⁹⁵ Editions, Méon *Nouveau Recueil*, Paris, 1823, I, 113-123; Mont. et Ray. *ed. cit.*, V, 160 f.

⁹⁶ Bédier, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

⁹⁷ Cf. Küchler (W) *Die Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Novelle*, Chemnitz, 1906. He speaks at length of Connebert, pp. 39-41.

following linguistic characteristics, evidently Picard, from the published version:

1. Confusion of *s* and *z*: 73: 74; 211: 212; 256: 257; etc.
2. *No* and *vo* attested by verse structure alongside of *nostre* and *vostre*: 61; 211.
3. Constant differentiation of *a* plus nasal plus consonant and *e* plus nasal plus consonant in numerous rhymes.
4. Pretonic *e* in hiatus is constantly kept here as in the other poems, but falls in certain past participles, a feature of the dialect of Artois and Haute Picardie: *reçut*: *aperçut* (151-152) but compare *aperçeüz*: *deçeüz* (71-72); 169: 170; etc.
5. Picard *C*: *blanche*, *semblance* 37: 38; 173: 174; etc.

H.—DU PRESTRE TEINT

Bib. Roy de Berlin, manuscript Hamilton 257, f. 13c-15d
(2d half, 13th century)

We have spoken of this *fabliau* several times above and have shown it to be the work of Gautier Le Leu although it does not exhibit any pronounced dialectal traits.⁹⁸ The opening verses relate that it was written in the Orléanais during Gautier's wanderings.

The priest in the *fabliau* receives a bath in a tub of dye and comes out:

. . . plus teint et plus vermeil
Qu'au matinet n'est le soleil
Au jor quant il doit plus roier.

We are reminded here of Renard's unwilling bath in the tub of yellow color in the dyeing establishment. In Hersent, "*marrugliere del mostier*," who renders her services "*à tous les bons chanoines, à tous les bons reclus*" in Orleans, we have a XIIIth century Macette or Trota-Conventos who recalls Richeut and Aubérée, "*la vieille truande*." This *fabliau* up to the time of its publication by Mont. and Ray. (VI, 8) was known only by reference to it in the opening verse of *Connebert* and its presence in the *jongleur's* repertoire occurring in the

⁹⁸ Cf. above, page 25.

fabliau Des Deux Borneors Ribauds.⁹⁹ Its title is not found in the manuscript. There are reminiscences of this theme in several later works, notably in Bandello, 43d tale of the 3d decade, and in an 18th century *chanson* as yet unedited.¹⁰⁰ Pietro Toldo¹⁰¹ has grouped into a cycle this *fabliau*, *Connebert, Le Pretre crucifié* (M. & R., I, 194), and other works treating similar themes.

I. DIT DU C.

Paris, Bib. Nat., *Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises* 19152
(thirteenth century)

Although this poem numbering 378 verses occurs in an important *suite* of *fabliaux*, it was not included by Montaiglon and Raynaud in the *Recueil Général*, probably because it is hardly to be considered a *fabliau* in the accepted sense: *conte à rire en vers*. The spirit in which it is written, however, certainly is that of the *fabliaux*. It is unedited¹⁰² and its contents are too obscene for analysis here. Gautier Le Leu names himself as its author in the first verse.

Gautiers Li Leus dit a devise
Que l'en ne doit en nule guise
En malvais leu mestre son oeuvre.
Cil est moult fox qui la descuevre
As orz vilains et as cuivers
Qui les coraiges ont envers,
Qar .I. malvais qui que s'en plaigne
Empire moult une compaignie;
S'amende moult por I prudome,
Ce dient li auctor de Rome.

⁹⁹ Cf. above, p. 11. Roquesfort, *État de la Poésie Française dans les XII^e siècles*, p. 303 has mistaken the reference and reads:

Si sai du provoire çaint
Qui o les crucefiz fu pains

and takes it as referring to the *fabliau Du Prestre crucifié* (M. R. I, 194).

¹⁰⁰ Paris, Bib. Nat. *Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises*, 4415, p. 185-191: *Histoire de M. L'Abbé tint en verd* (sur l'air *Des Pendus*).

¹⁰¹ Pietro Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese del XV e XVI secolo*, Rome, 1895, p. 96.

¹⁰² Le Grand d'Aussy gave a summary of it in "Notes pour la Nouvelle Edition des *Fabliaux*," which has remained in manuscript: Paris, Bib. Nat. *Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises*, 6227, pièce 12.

The poem is in part a travesty on the heroes of the *chansons de geste* and *romances* and lauds the irresistible power of love as crudely expressed in sexual attraction. Portions of it would have struck Gautier's audience as humorous, especially the comparison of his hero with the famous heroes of epic and romance in the passage which we have already quoted¹⁰³ and the power of the inhabitants of Hainaut (probably Gautier's own region) in matters of love:

Mais molt se plaint de Champenois,
Et si dit bien que Henuier
Le font sovent par nuit gaiter.

Armor, castles and all of the appurtenances of chivalry are introduced into the poem by way of humorous satire, and the enumerations of the powers of love remind one of the long series of similar verses in the *Chanson d'Amors* of Robert de Blois,¹⁰⁴ who flourished about 1250. The following verses, chosen among many, will serve for comparison.

Il fait les grans osteus tenir
Et a grant ioie maintenir;
Les hanz princes, les hanz barons
Si fait doner les riches dons
Et les cortoisies aprendre.
Si fait les granz avoires despendre;
Si fait trestoz les biens du mont;
Liez puet estre que il semont
De venir a son parlement
Por faire son comandement,
Qar tant par est de bone vie
Q'an li doit bien porter envie.
Or vos dirai du damoiseil:
Por lui sont portez li oisel;
Por lui sont chantez sons d'amors;
Por lui tient on les riches cors;
Por lui fait-on armes noveles;
Frains et lorains escuz et seles;
Por lui quelt on la flor du glai;
Por lui porte on la flor en mai;

¹⁰³ Cf. above, pages 15-17.

¹⁰⁴ Robert von Blois, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. J. Ulrich, Berlin, 1895.

Por lui fait on les armes pointes;
 Por lui se font les dames cointes;
 Por lui chante on sons et conduiz;
 De lui fait on toz les deduitz
 Qui onques furent fait el monde.
 Huimais porroiz oïr la fonde
 De l'un des princes terriens
 En qui descent et vient li biens.

If our supposition is correct that Gautier flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century, his poem may have been known to Robert de Blois, although it has rather the appearance of a travesty of the *Chanson d'Amors* than a source.

J.—DIT DES C.

Paris, Bib. Nat., f. fr., 837, folios 241 r°—241 v°
 (thirteenth century)

It has already been pointed out¹⁰⁵ that this poem is merely a repetition in abridged form of the preceding *dît*. Gautier Le Leu names himself as its author in verse 40:

Ce tesmoingne Gautiers Li Leus.

Several *fabliaux* have been ascribed to one or another of the Gautiers whom we have incorporated in Gautier Le Leu, in practically all cases, we believe, upon evidence that is too slight.

1. *Le Fèvre de Creil* (M. R., I, 231). Le Grand d'Aussy¹⁰⁶ remarked that Gautier Le Long is the author of *La Veuve* and "peut-être du *Forgeron de Creil*." He offers no proof for the statement, and it is evident from his later comment and from a quotation which he gives that he does not mean *Le Fèvre de Creil* but *Connebert*. The similarity in subject matter between these two last named *fabliaux*, and Gautier's fondness for utilizing a subject or an idea more than once, have induced us to study closely *Le Fèvre de Creil*. The language seems to be of a Picard tint.¹⁰⁷ At the end we have the following verses:

¹⁰⁵ Cf. above, page 24.

¹⁰⁶ *Ed. cit.*, III, 264. "Il y a d'un nommé Gautier, un autre *fabliau* intitulé *le Forgeron de Creil*."

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Bédier, *ed. cit.*, p. 438.

Par cest exemple voil moustrer
 C'on doit ainçois le leu huer
 Des bestes qu'il y soit venuz.
 Se li fevres se fust teuz,
 Que *Gautiers* eüst bouté enz,
 La dame eüst fait ses talenz.
 A cest mot fineront no conte.
 Que Diex nous gart trestoz de honte.

We have in this sort of epilogue the two elements of Gautier's name. Is this a mere coincidence? It is true that Gautier here is the name of the apprentice about whom the story centers, and that the figure of the wolf, here introduced without any reference to the story, may be purely accidental, but the combination is a curious one and has seemed to us to be worthy of mention. Gautier has elsewhere alluded to himself simply as *Li Leus* and this allusion made here by him if he were reciting the *fabliau* would not have been lost upon the ears of his auditors.

2. *Le Valet qui d'aise a mesaise se met* (M. R., II, 157). The attribution of this *fabliau* to "Gautier Le Long" by Lanson, Foerster and Paris has been already dealt with. This ascription has not been motivated by any direct evidence of authorship but because the *fabliau* seems to be a companion piece to *Li Provance de femme* (*La Veuve*). Bédier's objection to the identical authorship of the two *fabliaux* on the ground that *Le Valet* is of inferior technique would not, it seems to us, exclude the possibility of Gautier's authorship, for his technique has been shown to vary in his several poems. In the absence of any direct evidence, it seems best to consider the *Valet* an anonymous composition, however attractive it may be to pair it with *Li Provance de femme*.

3. *Le Prestre crucifié* (M. R., I, 194). The similarity in subject matter between this *fabliau* and *Connebert* has been frequently pointed out. There is no direct evidence, however, to confirm Pilz's¹⁰⁸ ascription of this *fabliau* to "Gautier, author of *Connebert*."

¹⁰⁸ Pilz (Oskar), *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Altfranzösischen Fableaux*, II, *Die Verfasser der Fableaux*, p. 7.

4. *De la Demoiselle qui aveinne demandait pour Morel* (M. R., I, 318). Pilz¹⁰⁸ would consider Gautier Le Leu author of this *fabliau* because of striking similarity between the final verses. There is no direct evidence which supports this ascription and we prefer to consider the *fabliau* as anonymous.

In conclusion and by way of summary, the name "to be remembered" in connection with the introduction of psychology into French Literature is not that of Gautier Le Long who never existed but that of Gautier Le Leu, a *trouvère* and *jongleur* probably of the first half of the thirteenth century and whose extant work includes eight *fabliaux* and two *dits*. His poems give us some details as to his personality. He seems to have been a Goliard or wandering *clerc*, a native of Haute Picardie. The importance of his work as a writer of *fabliaux* is attested by the number of his *fabliaux* that have survived and by the relatively large number of de luxe manuscripts (7) which have preserved them, assuming that the best known and most popular *fabliaux* were given the honor of this transmission.¹⁰⁹ Most works on the *fabliaux* take Rutebeuf as a model of the *jongleur*, probably because we have more information as to his life and the influences through which he passed.¹¹⁰ We would suggest Gautier Le Leu as the typical representative of the more common and numerous class, that of the Goliard or traveling *clerc*. The *fabliaux* of no other writer indicate better the common origin, the *esprit bourgeois* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, p. 39: Certaines inductions nous permettent de croire que, si nous possédons seulement l'infime minorité des *fabliaux*, nous en avons pourtant l'essentiel. . . . On peut conclure que notre collection, si mutilée soit-elle, représente excellemment le genre; fait aisément explicable, si l'on songe que les manuscrits des *fabliaux* ne sont pas, en général, des manuscrits de jongleurs compilés au hasard, mais de véritables collections d'amateurs, à la formation desquelles un certain choix a présidé.

Éd. Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1910, says also: Beaucoup (*fabliaux*) se sont perdus mais il est probable d'autre part que ceux-là se sont conservés qui avaient obtenu le succès le plus vif et le plus durable.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Éd. Faral, *op. cit.*, p. 160-162: Rutebeuf autant qu'on en peut juger, travaillait pour des bourgeois d'une certaine qualité ou pour des seigneurs de haute naissance. . . . Et d'abord si nous l'avons choisi comme type, c'est moins parce qu'il nous a paru représenter l'espèce la plus commune des jongleurs que parce que, haussant son art à un degré aussi élevé que n'importe lequel de ses contemporains, il compte parmi les plus brillants et les plus dignes d'estime.

GLOSSARY ¹¹¹

- anontion, D 3, incarnation
 baucent, p. 15, blanc et noir, tacheté
 betun, B 332, boue, fange
 blanger, C 14, cajoler
 borlivet, B 252, membre viril?
 braser, B 79, préparer, fabriquer
 bu, C 102, buste du corps, tronc
 buhos, C 114, conduit, goulot
 burir, A 104, se lancer
 calant, D 108, réservoir pour le poisson
 canestiaux, B 82, gâteaux
 catoner, A 168, marcher comme un chat,
 rampier
 Conebert, B 355, C 128, personnifica-
 tion des parties sexuelles de la
 femme
 "Connebert," nom d'un fabliau de
 Gautier Le Leu
 conpenages, C 130, nourriture, mets,
 viande
 coterel, p. 19, 22, bandit, pillard
 davodious, B 138, 219, chanteurs,
 musiciens
 delit, C 22, mis en déroute (M. R. VI,
 309)
 detés, B 160, débiteurs
 domeior, D 201, qui cause du dommage
 en requit, C 84, à l'écart
 engite, C 162, chassée, dépossédée
 entaioit, entaier, B 110, plonger dans
 la boue
 entrait, D 86, onguent
 erciés, C 149, dirigé
 escors, D 205, une maladie?
 espiere, B 124, souffle, bruit
 esplenisses, D 205, maladie de la rate?
 estequier, C 52, s'enfoncer
 estor, B 363, lutte amoureuse
 estrée, extraier, B 222, errer ça et là
 sans maître
 estrine, C 160, modeste
 etine, D 219, seau, baquet
 flage, C 48, cuisine
 gausnisses, D 206, jaunisse
 gillorde, C 123, corruption?
 giste, D 207, une maladie?
 gorgis, A 156, vantard?
 grumel, C 40, partie de la poitrine de
 bœuf. Cf. grumeleus, C 134
 havart, C 127, ventre?
 hovée, C 53, plein jusqu'au bord
 iue, B 272, jument
 kis, D 216, espèce de poisson?
 la, B 208, 292; laa, B 275, 305, petite
 boîte?
 lociés, locier, C 120, se remuer
 los, B 84, une espèce de mesure
 lusel, D 158, cercueil
 malenoirs, D 207, espèce de maladie?
 malet, maler, B 240, tourmenter
 mateculer, B 249, le sens est évident;
 ce mot ne se trouve pas dans les
 dictionnaires
 mies, B 72, hydromel
 mines, A 32, mesure de capacité valant
 un demi-sestier
 moie, B 22, tas, meule
 mole, C 15, moelle
 morille, D 240, fatigue qui provient de
 faim
 nages, C 129, fesses
 pelain, D 166, apparence physique
 piument, B 64, boisson composée de
 miel et d'épices
 plascier, B 98, courber, plier
 porcession D 4, cérémonie religieuse
 pous, C 97, corruption
 prosne, D 32, grille, grillage
 pusnais, C 107, 113, puant, fétide
 rovoisons, B 99, prière en général, fête
 sai, D 100, essai
 sapijer, B 73, goûter

¹¹¹ This glossary is composed of unusual words, some of which seem to be found nowhere except in the text of these *fabliaux*. A—*Les Souhais*; B—*Del fol vilain*; C—*Des si vilains*; D—*De Dieu et dou pescour*. It seemed best to give modern French equivalents for the Old French words.

sestiers, A 32, mesure (pour les liquides)	tors, C 15, grives
soier, B 57, couper	traués, B 301, troué
soire, B 55, payer	tremois, B 60, blé de mars
soivre, D 51, sauce épicée	vesse, C 108, pet?
sopes, B 230, tranche de pain à mettre en potage	Wihos, C 113, cocu

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THE PASSIVE VOICE IN VULGAR LATIN

IN the new edition (1922) of Professor Grandgent's esteemed *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, we read, p. 51, as in the earlier edition: "Under the influence of *CARUS EST*, etc., *AMATUS EST* came to mean 'he is loved' . . . : see Draeger, I, 276 ff. Then a whole passive inflexion was made up of the perfect participle + *ESSE* (in northern Italy *FIERI*). The old passive forms—except the perfect participle and, to some extent, the gerundive—gradually disappeared from ordinary speech."

No dates are given, but it is evident, from the above statement, that in this theory the so-called analytic or Romance passive is regarded as a feature of vulgar or spoken Latin by contrast with written Latin, which preserved to the last the synthetic or Latin passive. In other words, a Roman *wrote* *AMATUR* but *said* *AMATUS EST*.

Such a theory is not borne out by adducible facts. In this journal¹ and elsewhere I have brought forward considerations which, to my mind, show conclusively that this analytical or Romance passive, far from being a characteristic of spoken or vulgar Latin, did not appear, and hence presumably was not evolved, until the end of the Merovingian period (third quarter of the eighth century). As the arguments advanced in support of Professor Grandgent's view have never been refuted or perhaps even doubted—not, it would seem, on account of their intrinsic force, but because the proposition itself was accounted a self-evident truth—it is my purpose here to draw the reader's attention to the weakness of the theory and the unsatisfactory character of the proofs adduced in its support.

Even as a possible explanation, it is but a specious one; for if a passive verb such as *AMOR* has some analogy of meaning with an expression composed of an adjective + *SUM*, still the great majority of verbs—*viz.*, verbs of action—are not susceptible of such assimilation. No attempt, it is to be observed, is made

¹ Cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XII (1922), p. 318 ff., "When did Latin cease to be a spoken language in France?"

to show how a verb like AMOR could have influenced the whole verb-system in Latin, nor are any of the steps and proofs of that influence so much as indicated. "Hence," says Prof. Grandgent, "AMATUS FUIT signified he was loved," and we are referred to Draeger. But the reference is irrelevant. In the passage referred to, Draeger studies the uses of those compound forms of the passive or deponent in which FUI replaces SUM, FUERAM replaces ERAM, etc. Although, on the one hand, a distinction was often intended between expressions like LOCUTUS SUM and LOCUTUS FUI, yet, on the other hand, just as often both forms of expression seem to be virtually synonymous. Draeger shows that Livy has a peculiar predilection for forms compounded with the pluperfect of ESSE instead of with the imperfect (OCCISUS FUERAT for OCCISUS ERAT). Such a substitution is to be found also in Plautus and Cato. If it is claimed that, as early as the time when AMATUS FUI was used for AMATUS SUM, this substitution meant the beginning of the disappearance of the synthetic AMOR from the spoken language, then we must admit that spoken Latin from at least 200 years before the Christian era did not employ, or at least was beginning to lose, the synthetic passive. Yet for over nine hundred years afterwards we do not find a single case of an AMATUS SUM used for AMOR in the written language. Not once, before the reign of Charlemagne, have the most ignorant engravers of inscriptions been caught tripping on this point, although frequently at fault in many other respects; and the barbarous writers of documents in the darkest Merovingian period, moreover, have been just as careful. Neither Petronius, nor Apuleius, nor Commodianus, nor Sylvia, nor Gregory of Tours, nor Fredegarius, nor the various glossators and grammarians who warn the speaker against current blunders, give any inkling of this particular shortcoming.

What then is the tell-tale evidence offered? We are informed that "although writers in general kept up the classic practice as far as they were able, some examples of the popular formation may be culled from late writings: DENUO FACTUS FILIUS FUI (Hoppe, 60); MORS SALVA ERIT CUM FUERIT DEVORATA (*id.*, 60); CONJECTUS IN CARCEREM FUERAT (*id.*, 61); PERMISSA EST ACCEDERE (Regnier, 63)." The last example, however, from

Saint Augustine, is perhaps wholly irrelevant: this personal form of the passive in the intransitive (instead of the impersonal) is not a new fact. Neue-Wagener (III, p. 1) tells us that poets and later prose writers use it in imitation of the Greeks. He cites Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tacitus, an inscription of the year 159. This does not mean that the intransitive passive, *PERMITTITUR*, *PERMISSUM EST*, has disappeared. Bonnet tells us that it is very much alive in Gregory of Tours, two centuries later. The other examples, taken from Tertullian (150-230)—not, after all, so very late a writer—are no more evidence than thousands of similar ones of all epochs. As a matter of fact, the second example, *MORS SALVA ERIT CUM FUERIT DEVORATA*, simply illustrates the difference in meaning which the best writers tried to observe between *ERIT* and *FUERIT* in past future tenses of the passive: the contrast is between *ERIT* and *FUERIT*, one action will be past (*DEVORATA FUERIT*) when the other takes place (*SALVA ERIT*).

That, grammatically, such a difference could have been expressed by *ERIT* instead of *FUERIT* is evident, but the desire to emphasize this difference of time in the events is, in the opinion of Latin scholars, at the basis of the use and abuse of these forms (cf. Neue-Wagener, III, pp. 135-151; Riemann, *Gram. de Tite-Live*, 213-226; Ghiotta, XI, 192-194, 1921). Blase (*Archiv*, x, p. 321 ff.) has studied this shifting of tenses, and principally of auxiliaries of the passive verb. He shows, like all other Latinists indeed, that already Plautus and Terence occasionally used *SUM* and *FUI*, *ERAM* and *FUERAM*, without any difference of meaning. W. Hartel (*Archiv*, iii, p. 401) thinks that sometimes at least such a shifting was due to the desire of rounding off the sentence: "*QUOD INCARNATUS SIT ET FUERIT PASSUS*" (Lucif., 18, 11). As Bonnet remarks, this shifting in Plautus as well as in Gregory of Tours concerns *SUM* and *FUI*, *SIM* and *FUERIM* much less than the other tenses. In fine, although, as can be seen from the studies quoted above, the later writers (no more than Livy, however) seem to have shown a greater liking for these more rounded forms, this shifting of tenses was a general characteristic of Latin from its early period and had evidently nothing to do with the disappearance of the synthetic passive.

Indeed, the most important tense, the tense that was surely most used, *viz.*, the perfect, was, in all periods down to the eighth century, the least affected by it.

It was so natural a phenomenon that even the Latin grammarians thought nothing of it. Charisius (*Gram.*, I, 250) gives both forms (FACTUS SUM et FUI) in which he is but bearing out the usage of most writers, and Neue-Wagener (*loc. cit.*, p. 139) is of much the same opinion: "Indessen lesen wir öfters FUI und FUERIM neben dem Part. Perf., so dass es sich von dem in gleicher Verbindung gebrauchten SUM und SIM nicht unterscheiden lässt." This was so general throughout the whole Latin period that it is not until the nineteenth century that Latinists discovered that FACTUS SUM was the better form and not FACTUS FUI. The great scholars of the Renaissance had no suspicion of any such distinction. As Bonnet points out, the great Scaliger uses one for the other, and the Latin grammar used in French schools until recent years, that of Lhomond, gives both forms as synonymous. This was incorrect of course, but the two forms had this in common, that both referred to past actions. *Neither of them was ever used for a synthetic passive form; FACTUS FUI could take the place of FACTUS SUM, but there is no example of FACTUS SUM used for FIO, or FACTUS ERAM for FIEBAM, etc.*

In view of this well-known feature of the Latin language throughout its entire history, one cannot help wondering why scholars should cull one or two examples of the past participle + FUI from later writers (none, if you please, from the earlier writers) and see in them a proof of the disappearance of the synthetic forms.

Another argument—in appearance more sound, in reality just as deceptive—is based on the irregular use of active for passive forms in late Latin. Körting (*Formenlehre*, p. 18, 1893) says that the synthetic passive disappeared early, as is indicated by the circumstance that Gregory of Tours had no longer any clear consciousness of the value of the passive suffixes (cf. Bonnet, p. 635). On page 627, Bonnet had begun his study of the passive construction in Gregory of Tours with the remark that the impersonal passive still existed in this historian, which,

according to him, was a proof of the vitality of the passive conjugation. Then, analyzing the irregularities of Gregory's use of such forms, he cites some 6 cases of the use of IUNGERE in the active instead of the usual passive, 4 of FIGERE, 10 of CONTRAHERE, 6 of DERIGERE, 3 of REIFICERE, 2 of SANARE, 3 of RECIPERE, 2 of PRORIPERE, 2 of VERTERE, and one case each of COQUERE, CONFERRE, ELONGARE, CONFRINGERE, CONFLARE, COMMISCERE, while, on the other hand, Gregory will use in the passive certain verbs that former usage made intransitive or reflexive (agere, habere = v.g. ut mos rusticorum habetur).

This, he concludes, proves that the limit between the active and the passive was beginning to fade.

"Grégoire n'avait plus le sentiment bien net de la valeur précise des suffixes du passif. Mais ce sont justement les verbes déponents et les verbes actifs au sens intransitif ou réfléchi qui ont dû troubler ses notions ou émousser son sentiment grammatical. Ce n'est nullement, comme on pourrait le supposer, un commencement de destruction des suffixes dont on n'observe pas la moindre trace."

This statement, in my opinion, calls for two observations. First, that the general impression given by the reading of the texts is that the passive endings or suffixes do not show any sign of disappearing. The immense majority of cases where the use of the passive conforms with classical tradition imposes this conclusion. Second, if in regard to certain verbs Gregory's usage is different, if verbs like IUNGERE, etc. usurp an intransitive meaning expressed generally by a passive form, or *vice versa*, there is in this nothing to warrant the general statement that Gregory's notion of the meaning of the passive suffixes was beginning to fade. Such an assertion is in complete contradiction with the majority of cases, neither does it take into account an important feature of the Latin verb: the equivalence: MUTO = ME MUTO = MUTOR in which MUTO, intransitive, is synonymous with MUTOR. This equivalence grammarians recognize in a certain number of verbs, with a tendency to extend to more. Wölfflin, *Archiv*, ix, p. 515 ff. and x, p. 1, Hildebrand, *Philologus*, 56 (1897), p. 106, and Petschenig, *Archiv*, iii, p. 284 and v, p. 577, have studied this neutral use of verbs which has sometimes been

misunderstood by editors of Latin works who have tried to "correct" it by the adjunction of the reflexive pronoun or the passive desinence. Although this neutral use is more striking in the later writers, it has always been known to the Latin language. Outside of those generally recognized by grammarians, Kuehner, Draeger, Neue-Wagener, etc., we find in Caesar, *Gall.*, 7, 52, 1: signo recipiendi; Plautus, *Merc.*, 2, 4, 30: face cum praeda recipias; Vergil, *Aen.* 2, 235: accingunt omnes operi, which is explained by Priscian, 8, 23, by accinguntur or accingunt se; EXPEDIRE in the sense of 'to prepare oneself,' DERIGERE, VERTERE, FLECTERE, IUNGERE, FRANGERE, TRAHERE, PRORIPERE, MISCERE, etc., are more or less frequently thus used. Wölfflin had started out with the three verbs so often used neutrally by Benedict of Nursia (6th century): CORRIGERE, EMENDARE, REIFICERE. REIFICERE is already found with the neutral meaning in the *De bello africano*, 9, 2, and 34, 6: ex navibus egressus iubet ex languore nausiaque reficere. It is evident that Gregory's usage is not very different from that of other writers: IUNGERE, DERIGERE, REIFICERE, RECIPERE, PRORIPERE, VERTERE, MISCERE are common to him and the authors of the classical period. A closer study would very likely bring out more similarities. But this is probably sufficient to show that Gregory of Tours is in no way peculiar in this respect and that M. Bonnet's conclusion, so readily accepted by Körting, is based on very weak premises. If Gregory of Tours shows that he is losing his sense of the value of passive desinences because he sometimes uses RECIPERE, etc., in the active instead of the passive, then we must admit that Plautus and Caesar had lost that sense before him.

Haag in his *Latinity of Fredegarius* bases a like conclusion on that same neutral use of DARE and LIBERARE; he could have added EFFICERE, iii, c. 21, p. 101, 1.19 (M. G. H.) Glodoveus rex . . . vovit si victuriam obtenebat effecerit christianus = "would make himself" (*ibid.*, 1.9). These verbs are different from the others, but they are clearly examples of a linguistic phenomenon too much alive throughout the Latin language (cf. Draeger, I, 2, p. 140 ff.) to call for a special interpretation. Even when linguistic consciousness had been reawakened while

the sense for the language was presumably still alive in the Roman church, Pope Leo III writing to Charles in the year 808 said: "aliam epistolam serenitatis vestrae ubi continebat ut ipsi . . . missi vestri . . ." (Migne, 98, 529, B), where CONTINEBAT equals CONTINEBATUR. In fact such a liberty taken with the language implies a live sense of its possibilities.

In reality, Bonnet's and Haag's conclusion is not based on the evidence; it is due to a desire to find traces of the disappearance of the synthetic passive, a disappearance which they are convinced had taken place but the evidence for which is indeed elusive. This groundless conviction that the synthetic passive had disappeared early (the chronology of the event remaining extremely vague) is very conspicuous in all the scholars who have studied the Merovingian period, although they indirectly admit that the evidence is all against it. Franz Schramm in his study of the *Lex Salica* (Marb., *Beitr. z. rom. Phil.*, iii, 1911) emphasizes the popular character of the text of these laws: the purpose of the redaction being to put the laws within reach of the people, so that no one could plead ignorance of them. Schramm remarks that we must admit the existence of the synthetic passive in the common speech at the time of the composition of the *Lex Salica*, that is to say in the 6th century, since its forms appear untouched. He adds however that there might have been side by side with it an analytical passive. He refers to Prof. Grandgent's theory as a basis for this supposition. Thus while the texts had imposed the conclusion that the synthetic passive was still alive in the language of the people, in a text written for them and marked by many irregularities of morphology, syntax and vocabulary, yet the currently expressed opinion is so strong that the scholar has some misgivings about the value of his observation and he concludes with a purely gratuitous supposition.

Another argument advanced in support of the theory of the early disappearance of the synthetic passive, also touched upon by M. Bonnet but more emphasized by Haag in his *Latinität Fredegars*, is the misuse of the deponent or passive forms.² Although, says Haag, this use of the synthetic passive

² Cf. J. Vendryès, *Le Langage*, in *Evolution de l'Humanité*, vol. iii (1921): "C'est de la même façon que Grégoire de Tours dont le latin fourmille d'incorrections dues

is kept up quite well in Fredegarius, the occasional misuse of its forms is a sure indication that they had dropped out of the common speech. He gives us seven examples where we have passive forms used instead of active: REGUNTUR, REMEANTUR, SIMULOR, REGEBATUR, REMITTITUR, DEFRANGUNTUR, FIUNTUR. It will suffice to refer to Stolz (*Hist. Gram.*, iii, p. 292 ff.) and Neue-Wagener (iii, p. 1 ff.) to justify the statement that there is in this particular use nothing characteristic of the 7th century or of Fredegarius. There is no general deduction to be drawn from it except that Fredegarius used the middle passive forms in these verbs. We find few writers who cannot show similar peculiarities: to be sure, there seems in early Latin and late Latin to be a greater divergence from common usage, yet even during the classical period, while everybody including Cicero usually says ELUCUBRO, sometimes the great orator uses ELUCUBROR, Livy has COMMUNICOR, Petronius RIDEOR, Cicero and Apuleius PUNIOR, Juvenal SPERNOR, Valerius Maximus DEGENEROR, Varro MAEREOR, etc. Augustine has CAPTOR, GAUDEOR, and Fortunatus DEBEOR. One inscription (CIL xiv 2934) has ALIENOR, another has VETOR (CIL v 3996), another one DUBITOR (CIL x 2496), etc. (cf. Roensch, *Italia and Vulgata*, p. 302).

A parallel phase of the same phenomenon, also presented by Haag as additional proof that the synthetic passive had disappeared at the time of Fredegarius, is the use of active forms for the ordinary deponent in the following verbs: QUOORTAT (COHORTAT), CONABAT, ARBITRAT, FURAVIT, PRILIAVEMUS, MERCARE, SEQUERE, ADGREDERE, DEPREDAE, UTERE, ULCISCO, DIGNARE, DEPRECARE. But HORTARE (and compounds) is found in Priscian (8, 5, 23), CONARI gives a passive meaning (Neue-Wagener, 3, p. 24), ARBITRARE, active, occurs in Cicero (*De natura Deorum*, 2, 29, 74), PRAELIO is in Priscian, MERCOR is used in the passive by Am. Marc., 21, 6, 8, Sallust, Propertius, etc.; PRAEDARE is in Priscian (8, 6, 29) and in the Vulgate

a la langue qu'on parlait autour de lui, se sert encore du déponent, qui avait depuis longtemps disparu de la langue parlée: beaucoup de ses déponents n'existent pas en latin classique" (p. 327). The question is: what is a classical deponent? elucubror? communicor? rideor? punior? spernor? degeneror? maereor? etc. And what has classical Latin to do in a matter of the spoken or vulgar language?

(*Iudith*, 2, 13, 16) in the passive in Vopiscus; SEQUERE is in Priscian and in Plautus (Neue-Wagener, *loc. cit.*, p. 89) and ASSEQUI is in the passive in Cicero; ULCISCO is in Priscian and in the passive in the law writers and Sallust, Apuleius; UTO is in Priscian, in Cato, an inscription, and in the passive in Gellius; DIGNO is in Priscian, in Cicero (*Arat.*, 34), in Vergil (*Aen.*, 11, 169), in Justinian, etc. There are few authors that do not show some unusual deponents. Practically all those used by Fredegarius have their counterpart in earlier authors. Neue-Wagener gives page after page of these exceptional forms. Latin as a living language was not to be bound by any hard and fast rule in this feature more than in any other. It is our modern conception of Latin as a dead language that prevents us from seeing the fluctuating character of the living tongue. At any rate the case of Fredegarius cannot be treated apart from the others. One may say with A. Ernout:

Chez les auteurs de la basse époque, le caractère artificiel du déponent est éclatant. Ainsi Tertullien emploie avec le sens réfléchi ou passif les actifs abrumper, colligere, derivare, exterminare, facere, habere, inquietare, longinquare, mutare, movere, refrigerare, stipare, suspendere, vertere, mais il crée les déponents nouveaux abstinere, commemorari, comperiri, coniectari, consultari, lacrimari et par contre emploie passivement les déponents cavillari, confiteri, consolari, contionari, cunctari, gratulari, interpretari, remunerari, sortiri. Loin de les fortifier, l'accord du médio-passif et du déponent était pour chacun d'eux une cause de faiblesse et ne faisait que précipiter leur ruine. (*Recherches sur l'emploi du passif latin à l'époque républicaine*, p. 69.)

Yet the weakness of the reasoning is that it might be applied to almost every Latin author from the time of Cato downward, and on the other hand the case for the disappearance of the synthetic passive is not stronger in Fredegarius (7th cent.) than in Tertullian (end of 2d), so that the logical inference would be that the synthetic passive never was a feature of spoken Latin, which is evidently absurd.

We would rather see in these changes a proof of the vitality of such desinences. Although we cannot possibly feel the special connotation that attaches to the deponents like LOQUOR

'je parle,' we are not justified in thinking that it had none for the Latins, any more than an English speaking person would be justified in denying the value of the reflexive in expressions like *s'en aller*, *irse*, etc., in the Romance languages. That connotation was evidently transported more or less consciously to other verbs. At the same time the intransitive meaning would be extended or restricted according to influences that we cannot always grasp precisely, but which bear all the earmarks of live phenomena. All modern languages show such fluctuations. The French Academy has decreed that one must say *je fris le poisson* but *nous faisons frire le poisson* and certainly both are used. Verbs that formerly were transitive, e.g. *reculer*, are intransitive today. Verbs used reflexively today in French were once used intransitively, and *vice versa*; certain constructions require the passive today that formerly admitted active forms: *bref après avoir longuement combattu par les deux capitaines le cheval de domp Alonce se recreut* (*Loyal Serviteur*, Ed. Michaud, p. 513, 2e col.) = *avoir été longuement combattu*.

But Haag will see evidence of the disappearance of the synthetic passive in the most ordinary constructions for instance because in the following "in marca vinodorum salvatus est" instead of the reflexive *se salvavit*, as though it were not very common at all periods of the Latin language, e.g. "cum in mentem venit, ponor ad scribendum" (Cic. *Fam.* 9, 15, 4).

I shall not insist. Such arguments only show the weakness of the cause they are intended to support (cf. Kühner, *Gram.*, ii, p. 104; Draeger, I, p. 142).

We have seen that the current view of the existence of an analytical passive in Vulgar Latin rests on nothing but the most common features of Latin to which is given a peculiar interpretation: the erroneous interpretation is made to figure as the whole proof. As has been said above, it is so self-evident a truth that all that is required, for most Romance scholars, is only an illustration of how the phenomenon took place, rather than evidence that it did take place. When they are asked for direct proofs, their answer is that given by K. Hetzer in his otherwise remarkable study on the glossary of Reichenau (*Beiträge, Z. r., Ph.*, c. 118, 1906): "It was such a terrible barba-

rism that all writers were very careful to avoid it." But why it should have been more of a barbarism than the others, in the matter of verb endings, declensions, prepositions, etc., which are constantly misused by writers of the Merovingian period, we are not told. Why, for instance, should Fredegarius be more sensitive about the analytical passive, for which he found the forms (if not the meaning) in all the writers accessible to him, while he was not so with regard to the very barbarous form of the Romance future (*daras* for DABIS) which he puts in Emperor Justinian's mouth? In one case he would have been misusing a regularly accredited form: this is very easily done, as a great many linguistic changes take place in this manner; but *daras* for DABIS was an entirely new creation of the people. With just a little sensitiveness in this respect, he should have felt this to be a vulgar barbarism, instead of attributing it to the emperor as a dignified expression worthy of giving a name to a city. This scrupulousness is a convenient explanation when a Merovingian writer is free from the Romance peculiarities expected of him. Thus K. Hetzer (*loc. cit.*, c. 127) finding few examples of the replacement of case endings by prepositions attributes it to this very care to avoid "vulgar expressions." Hetzer thus forgets that five centuries later prepositions had not yet completely superseded case endings.

In reality, writers of the sixth, seventh and the early part of the eighth centuries had no more reason to guard against mistakes in the use of the passive than against mistakes in the other features of the grammar. And they did not fail to make the errors that were possible in the contemporary state of the language. But they could not make those that did not become current until the third quarter of the eighth century. The remarkable part about this matter is that such barbarisms do not take place (*i.e.*, analytical passive forms are not used instead of synthetic ones), until the reign of Charlemagne (about 780), that is to say when a discriminating linguistic sense had been awakened by the Renaissance of letters which then began. As has been remarked by Groeber, the Latin of that period becomes much more correct, first in spelling, then, under Louis the Pious, in modes of expression and construction; and it is

precisely at this time when writers have a linguistic ideal, that the analytical or Romance passive, that "schlimmer barbarismus," makes its appearance. As a matter of fact it was very natural since there was nothing in the forms, when properly spelled, that was not Latin. Now if Carolingian writers, one of them at least a great scholar, introduced this construction quite unawares, what reason can be suggested for its absence from Merovingian documents except that the need for it had not yet arisen. Which reason is confirmed by more direct evidences which have been set forth elsewhere. It is then and not before that we find such clear cases of the analytical passive:

(1) et per tales homines (ecclesiae) in antea *sint gubernatae* qualiter Deo et nobis exinde placeant;

(2) . . . set per sacerdotes *fiant* . . . *gubernatas*;

(3) . . . qualiter . . . ipsa aelemosina *fiat facta* et infra triginta noctes *impleta esse* debeant;

(4) De rebus quae Hildegardae reginae *traditae fuerunt*, volumus ut *fiant descriptae* breves et ipsae breves ad nos *fiant adductae* (*Capitulare Generale*, 783, M. G. H. Pertz, I, IX, 14, p. 47).

We have here clear cases of the analytical passive: *sint gubernatae*, *fiant gubernatas* = *gubernentur*; *fiat facta* = *fiat*; *fiant descriptae*, *fiant adductae* = *describantur*, *adducantur*. This linguistic revolution takes place during the Carolingian Renaissance! Nobody is conscious of it. Alcuin himself writes: "Sed factum *fiat* quod Deo placet" (M. G. H. Ep., p. 374, I, 35), just as he had written: "gaudens gaudebo de . . . veritatis testificatione in qua vos laudare supervenientibus illis de partibus laetus audio," although a more recent hand corrected *laudare* into *laudari* = I hear you praised by people coming from those parts.³ This shows that syntactic changes are much more difficult to guard against than almost any other. Even Alcuin's letters written when he was in France are full of such incorrect constructions, due to the influence of the spoken language. The Cassel glossary reflects this auxiliary use of *FIERI*, sure mark that the analytical passive has arrived; it has *FIERI* = *wesen*.

³ In French: Je vous entends louer à ceux qui viennent de ces régions.

We also find indications of compounds of *VENIRE*, used as an auxiliary in the passive voice:

Et unusquisque filium suum litteras ad discendum mittat et ibi cum omni sollicitudine permaneat usque dum bene instructus perveniat (*Cap.*, an. 802, Pertz, Lg. I, p. 107);

si ab eis aliquis interfectus evenerit (*Cap. Sax.*, 797, *ibid.*, p. 72).

What is more, such analytical passive constructions are sufficient to date a document. In S. Egberti Excerptiones edictis et canon. SS. Patrum (Migne, 89, col. 383, xxviii), which had been given generally under the date of 748, we find the following: ut ecclesiae Dei bene constructae et restauratae et ornatae fiant (instead of construantur, etc.). At first sight, such a construction is more than surprising in England and thirty years before the earliest French documents; and one will at once question the absolute authenticity of the collection. This suspicion is borne out by historical reasons which have been set forth by Mansi (*Conc.*, XII, 411), viz.: that an article contains a request for prayers "pro vitae et imperio Domini imperatoris et filiorum et filiarum." Mansi thinks that some of these additions are due to Hincmar. At any rate, the reference to the emperor indicates a Carolingian origin. The use of the analytical passive is another sure indication of this fact.

The chronology of this fact being so well established, resting besides on the whole history of the slow disintegration of the synthetic passive through the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, one will read with surprise that M. Ernout (*Mélanges Havet*, "De l'emploi du passif dans la Mulomedecina Chironis," p. 147 ff.), finding *FIERI* and *VENIRE* used with past participles in this work of the fifth century, sees in them examples of the Romance or analytical passive. If this is so, then indeed the whole question of the existence of the analytical passive in Vulgar Latin is settled. Let us examine his proofs.

For M. Ernout the following expressions are early cases of the Raetian passive, with *VENIRE* as auxiliary: si equus de via coactus venerit (157); si iumentum de via coactum veniet (158).

Is it not plain that VENIRE is taken literally in these sentences: if the horse comes (in) all spent or foundering from the road? ⁴

In the following: *tunc cibum quem conceptum venire oportet in duas partes* (266), although the whole sentence is somewhat confused, I do not see any reason why VENIRE should not be understood as meaning 'to come.'

Besides, the confusion of the whole passage makes the example of doubtful value: it is impossible to know what the fifth century text was. The manuscript of the fifteenth century which is our source is too remote from the original; the text has gone through too many hands to be used otherwise than with the greatest caution.

M. Ernout's interpretation of FIERI + past participle (p. 168) shows the same misconception. He cites these examples: *Ex eadem parte doloris gravatus amens fit apiosus* 257; *amentatus a corde fit his valetudinibus* 260; *fit enim spiritui ductus gravissimus, nares aperti divisi* 137; *unde et nervi totius corporis constringuntur ex ipso labore, ex quo et tempora cavata fiunt et oculi depressi* 148; *interiorum singularum partium dolor plures valetudines et dolores fieri nata in ventrem demonstrat* 206; *ex qua re contigit cutem in corpore strictiorem fieri* 148. M. Ernout adds: "C'est ainsi que se rend le passif dans l'italien du nord." But it is easy to see that there is no passive at all in these examples, that the past participle is used as an adjective. The first example is a clear proof of this statement: *fit amens* (the animal) 'becomes insane'! The second: *amentatus a corde fit*, 'it becomes maddened,' does not show any substitution of an analytical passive for the synthetic form. AMENTATUS is assuredly equivalent to AMENS: there is no such verb as AMENTO or AMENTOR in this sense; it is rather one of those adjectives in -ato- that play so interesting a part in the Romance languages. The same is true of the third: *fit enim spiritui ductus gravissimus, nares aperti, divisi*: APERTI and DIVISI are adjectives like GRAVISSIMUS. The next example (148) shows CAVATA and DEPRESSI with adjectival meanings: the temples become hollow and the eyes sunken, a quality not an action.

⁴ Vegetius uses the same construction: "*Si equus . . . coactus de via venerit*" (I, 38, 5).

In other words the meaning is not *nares aperiuntur et dividuntur, tempora cavantur, et oculi deprimuntur*, which would be absurd. The passage taken from 206 is evidently corrupt, but one fact is certain: *FIERI* is not the auxiliary of *NATA* and *NASCI* being a neuter verb, this example has no bearing on the question. The construction is analogous to the one next above "*prima enim doloris vicia ex presenti nata inveniuntur.*" The last example (148) shows plainly the adjectival value of *STRICTUS* used in the comparative.

In fine, in none of these examples is *FIERI* used as an auxiliary to take the place of the synthetic Latin passive. In the entire *Mulomedecina Chironis*, *FIERI* is invariably used with its full classical value of 'to become, to be made,' not of 'to be.' But it was not until its meaning had been weakened, in certain cases, to that of *ESSE* (*wesen* in the glossary of Cassel) that it could be used as an auxiliary with participles, including *FACTUM*, v.g. *FIAT FACTUM = FIAT* in examples quoted above. And when, in the *Mulomedecina*, participles are used with *FIERI* (or *FACERE*), these participles are used as adjectives to denote a condition, not an action. This is in keeping with the classical principle: *Ut sic deuteretur victo quin, aut interfici aut missum fieri iuberet* (Nep. Eum., 11); *facere aliquid alicui notum* (Cic. Fam., 5, 12); *reliquias recollectas ut molliter essent tumulo conditas effeci ego* (CIL viii 4373). The innovation, if there is any, does not lie in the use of *FIERI* but in the careless use of participles as adjectives.

The same must be said of the single example of the Romance passive that Karl Meister (*Rhein. Mus.*, 64, 385) believes he has discovered in the *Peregrinatio*. Although Einar Lofstedt (*Kommentar*, 36, 3) supports this opinion, the evidence is so doubtful that were it not for this *parti-pris*, or a *priori* conviction of the existence of a Romance passive, it would never have been thus interpreted by these eminent scholars. In 36, 3 of the *Peregrinatio* (A. S. E., 29, 87) we have the following: "*Qui locus ad quod lectus fuerit, tantus rugitus et mugitus totius populi est cum fletu ut forsitan porro ad civitatem gemitus populi omnis auditus sit*"; whereas in 47, 2 we have: "*Disputante autem episcopo singula et narrante tantae voces sunt colaudantium ut porro foras ecclesia audiantur voces eorum.*"

Karl Meister reminds himself very justly that in the case of two similar passages one must be careful not to infer that the author is using precisely the same construction: he may very well change it.⁵ But disregarding his own warning, Meister goes on to declare that in the first example the present and not the past is intended, and so the form *auditus sit* stands for *audiatur* as used in the second example. Now even if both passages were exactly parallel to one another, such argumentation would contradict his own very sound principle of criticism. But these two passages are not identical. Meister did not quote the entire sentence. He gives it as beginning with "tantae voces," whereas it begins with "Qui locus ad quod lectus fuerit." The use of the future anterior, which contains a past connotation, may have contaminated the last verb of the sentence. There is no such future anterior in the second passage. This might have happened all the more easily since in these vulgar texts the sequence of tenses is not very strict. But what is more to the point, the situations or events related in these two sentences are so essentially different that it is strange that neither Karl Meister nor Einar Löfstedt noticed it. In the first passage we are told that the moans of the people could perhaps be heard from Gethsemane as far as Jerusalem; in the second, that the ceremony is carried on with so much vigour that the voices are heard outside the church. Aetheria may very well consider the first event as quite remarkable and vouch for its occurrence on the day when she was there (and so in the past tense); the second, on the contrary, is regular and a characteristic of the ceremony as celebrated in the Holy Land (and so in the present tense). In the first instance, even Aetheria cannot admit that the moans in the garden of Gethsemane must be so standardized that every time they shall be heard all the way to Jerusalem: it is not a part of a regular ceremony. The use of *FORISITAN* in the first example and not in the second emphasizes this difference. The above-mentioned scholars would have seen this difference, had they not been convinced beforehand of the obviousness of the explanation by the existence

⁵ Cf. 37, 5, *ita legitur primum de psalmis, ubicumque de passione . . . dixit; item legitur de evangeliis, ubi passionem dicit.*

of a Romance passive looming up just once but not reappearing in the rest of the work. Karl Meister admits this a little farther on. Quoting this passage: "occurrit presbyter veniens de monasterio suo qui ipsi ecclesiae *deputabatur*" (3, 41), Latin writers, he says, would probably have written *deputatus erat*. But as *amatus eram* in the everyday language was the same as *amabar*, Aetheria wrote *deputabatur* instead of *deputatus erat*. Thus we see, the very fact that requires proof is taken for granted and made the basis of an interpretation which to my mind is quite useless. For this use of the imperfect may not be absolutely logical, but pure logic cannot be expected of a writer like this nun. Besides, in the indicative and in the subjunctive the imperfect is employed for the pluperfect by the best writers. In Caesar, B. G. 1, 47, 2, we find: Colloquendi causa visa non est, et eo magis quod pridie eius diei germani retineri non *poterant* quin in nostros tela coniicerent. Hassenstein (*De Synta. Am. Marc.*, p. 50, 1877) gives the following example: "Laniogaiso . . . docente Francos, unde (Silvanus) *oriebatur*" (15, 5, 16), which is used precisely like *deputabatur* in the *Peregrinatio*.

It is true that Ehrismann, as quoted by Landgraf (*Hist. Gram.*, 3, 1, p. 151), conjectures from two other examples in which Am. Marc. uses the imperfect in the passive instead of the perfect which was to be expected, that Am. Marc. did it purposely to avoid the perfect. The reason for this, according to Ehrismann supported by Landgraf, may be that the perfect was already (c. 380) used for the present in the vulgar speech, and consequently Am. Marc. wished to avoid a tense which had so vulgar a connotation. Here again the alleged cause of the phenomenon is precisely the moot question. But the reason given is hardly convincing: if the passive perfect was so objectionable to Am. Marc., why did he use it everywhere else in his work?

In reality, the Latin middle-passive system shows no sign of disintegrating or of disappearing in the *Peregrinatio* or in the *Mul. Chironis*. The second book of the latter begins thus: "Chyrurgia est quodcumque in corpore natum manu ferro vel cauterio curare oportet, que nisi ferro vel cauterio curentur, aliter curari non possunt, etc." and the rest is in keeping with

this beginning. Any attempt at finding traces of the disappearance of the synthetic passive in the fifth century is bound to fail. The date of the disappearance of the synthetic passive is definitely ascertained, to wit, 780-800, and even the manner of its disappearance is partially cleared up. It came about through the rapid extension to all the moods and tenses of the passive voice, of the compound form, which was resorted to in order to replace the complete blurring out of the desineness of the passive infinitive (confusion and final loss of the endings of *AMARE*, *AMARI*). It is a remarkable illustration of the way in which phonetic transformations affect the syntax and morphology of a language. For a long time the phonetic change seems of little importance and does not appear to have altered the mode of expression. By the influence of analogy it works its way through part of a grammatical category and finally compels the elaboration of a new mode of expression for it, which mode extends very rapidly to the whole category and achieves a complete transformation of an entire system of expression. The cause of the rapid extension, by analogy, of the analytical construction to the whole passive system, is apparently the general tendency to use auxiliaries instead of inflexions or desinenesses, which characterizes the transformation of Latin into Romance. While the blurring out of the passive desineness of the present infinitive took three centuries to come to completion, the replacing of the synthetic passive by the analytical forms in the other moods took place in a very short time. This is what the documents show us.

This linguistic development must not be confused with others parallel to it which have no direct bearing on the question. One is the extension of the use of the reflexive. To quote Professor Grandgent again (p. 52):

"In the intermediate period the passive was frequently replaced by the reflexive and active construction. When *LITTERA SCRIBITUR* seemed archaic and *LITTERA SCRIPTA EST* vulgar, people said *LITTERA SE SCRIBIT* and *LITTERAM SCRIBIT HOMO*. Ex. facit se hora quinta (Per. *Sylviae* 126)."

First let us eliminate from this statement whatever is unwarranted—not only unproved but disproved by the documents,

viz., that LITTERA SCRIBITUR was archaic and LITTERA SCRIPTA EST vulgar in the fourth century!⁶ There is not a shadow of proof or even of likelihood for such a statement. There remains the extension of the reflexive construction. This extension is more apparent than real if one remembers that the passive form had a reflexive meaning and that by a natural consequence the reflexive form could take a passive meaning. All grammarians quote the following: Virg. *Aen.* 11, 455: clamor se tollit ad auras. Liv. 1, 7, 26, 38: sicunde spes aliqua se ostendisset. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 25: nisi cum maior spes ostenderetur, Pliny 13, 81 littera fundente se.

Such an extension of the reflexive use is not more remarkable in the eighth century than in the classical period. It is in no way connected with the disappearance of the passive synthetic form. Of course when the synthetic passive had disappeared the reflexive inherited a great many uses of the middle-passive form, so did the active with French *on*, but *post hoc* not *propter hoc*.

The extension of the reflexive which is characteristic of the later period is to be found in the adjunction of a reflexive pronoun (in the function of an ethical dative or accusative) to an intransitive verb. It is conspicuous in the *Mulomedecina Chironis* (fifth cent.) and Vulgar Latin writings of the later period. Ex.: *Mulom. Chir.*, 681, remitte: statim fugiet sibi; *Pereg. Sylv.* (sixth cent.), sedete vobis; *ibid.*, recipit se episcopus et vadent se unusquisque ad hospitium suum; Form. Andec. Z. S. 6, n. 4, se fuerit etc. (Cf. Wölfflin, *Arch.*, IV, p. 260 ff. Einar Löfstedt, *Komment. Per. Sylv.*, p. 140 ff., Meyer-Lübke, p. 408); *Mulom. Chir.*, 364, sanantur sibi et aliis locis renascuntur; *ibid.*, hic morbus se ad corpora increscens; Benedicto Regula XLIII erit forte talis qui se aut recollocet et dormiat aut certe sedeat sibi foris; Virg. Maron. *Gram.*, ne forte morieris dicam tibi quod se accidit ut nomina . . . litterarum ordinem non servant; *Mulom. Chir.*, 52: genus vulneris qui sibi nascantur locis commissurabilibus (corrected by Oder but wrongly, says E. Löfstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 143).

⁶ The *Peregrinatio Sylviae* is probably of the VIth cent. See Einar Löfstedt's *Kommentar*.

Such a use is characteristic of low Latin but has nothing to do evidently with the disappearance of the synthetic passive or deponent form.

The preconception that prevails in regard to this matter is indeed remarkable: even such a Latin scholar as A. Ernout calls the use of the active verb with the reflexive instead of the passive, when the subject is not a living being, a new formation (!) tending to replace the synthetic passive (*Mélanges Havet*, "De l'emploi du passif dans la *Mulom. Chironis*," p. 147 ff.). As a matter of fact this use is one of the characteristic features of Latin. School grammarians like O. Riemann (*Syntaxe Latine*, p. 202) mention it as an exception or poetical, but this is a purist's distinction. As no general study of the phenomenon, so far as I know, has yet been made (Kuehner, *op. cit.*, II, I, p. 106), and this feature has been brought to the attention of scholars in connection with later writers, it might look as if it were a new development characteristic of Vulgar Latin. From this view to that of seeing in it a proof of the replacement of the synthetic passive by the reflexive construction, there is but a step. It will not therefore be superfluous to insist that this use of the reflexive is contemporaneous with the first productions of Latin literature, and has never gone out of existence or disappeared during the classical period to reappear afterwards, in late Latin, like a number of other old Latin phenomena. Note the following examples:

Cato, *de Agricul.*, XX, 1, si movebitur (columella) eximito: denuo eodem modo facito ne se moveat; XLV, 3: taleae ubi trimae sunt, dum denique maturae sunt ubi liber sese vertet; CXXVIII: ita neque aspergo nocebit, . . . neque herba nascetur, neque lutamenta scindent se.

Varro, *Re rustica*, I, xvi, 6: ut arbores non solum minus ferant, sed etiam fugiant ut introrsum in fundum se reclinent; II, v, 17: castrare (vitulos) non oportet ante bimum, quod difficulter, si aliter feceris, se recipiunt ('recover').

Vitruvius, *de Archit.*, II, III: interior (lateris) autem sit non siccus et quum postea siccescendo se contrahit; cf. II, VIII:

⁷ E. Wölfflin, *Arch.*, IX, p. 1; *ib.*, p. 423; *ib.*, p. 491; *ib.*, IV, p. 262; P. Geyer, *Arch.*, VIII, p. 479.

quum enim linuntur recipientes humorem turgescunt, deinde siccescendo contrahuntur; II, VIII (testa) quae non fuerit ex creta bona aut parum erit cocta ibi se ostendet esse vitiosam gelicidiis et pruina tacta.

Cicero, *Epist. Fam.*, VI, 1, 4: Atque haec eo pertinet oratio, ut perditis rebus omnibus, tamen ipsa virtus se sustentare posse videatur; *ib.*, VIII, XIV, 2: sic illi amores et invidiosa coniunctio non ad occultam recidit obtrectionem, sed ad bellum se erumpit; *ib.*, *ad Fratrem*, III, II, 2: Negotia se nostra sic habent.

Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, I, XXV: quum ferrum se inflexisset; *ib.*, IV, XVII: tanta erat operis firmitudo . . . ut quo maior vis aquae se incitavisset.

Liv. VII, XXXVIII, 2: neque ita rei gestae fama Italiae se finibus teneunt. Columella, *Re rust.*, IV, XXIV: inter duo brachia, qua se dividit vitis; *ib.*, unde se pandant quatuor, ut dixi, brachia; *ib.*, hae (materiae) vitem exhaustiunt. et usque in alterum ac tertium palum. se extendunt; *ib.*, ita (vites) se induunt uvis ut nequeant maturitatem capere.

Celsus, *Medicina*, I, p. 4, 1.1 (Teubner) ita se habere; *ib.*, 1.12: Tum requirunt etiam quare venae nostrae modo submittant se modo attollant; *ib.*, I, III, p. 17, 2: quum sudor se remisit; II, VI, p. 37, 1.19: cui protinus in recenti morbo bilis atra vel infra vel supra se ostendet; *ib.*, II, XII, p. 57, 6: si pituita eo (stomacho) se confert.

Quintilian, *Inst.*, proem. 3: latius se tamen aperiente materia; *ib.*, 13: scidit deinde se studium; *ib.*, II, XI, 4: magnum aliquid quod ultro se offerat. expectant.

Priscian (VIII, 23, Keil, T. 2, p. 390) explains this quotation from the *Aeneid*: "et a nox humida caelo Praecipitat" by praecipitatur vel praecipitat se. This seems to show that the use of the reflexive with an inanimate object was in no way strange. Another proof that this use of the reflexive was not offensive to a Latin purist is that Vegetius, who speaks disdainfully of the low quality of Chiro's Latin and in so many pages of his own treatise does little else than transcribe him in improving his model's grammar, will render Chiro's cum cicatrices cluserint by cum cicatrices se clausierint (5, 17, 4). Cf. E. Wölfflin, *Arch.*, 9, p. 423.

That a physician like Celsus or agriculturists like Cato, Varro or Columella should show more of such examples is perfectly natural, the various plants, organs or affections of the body being their principal object of study are conceived as endowed with spontaneous motion. And this explains the greater number of examples to be found in the *Mulom. Chir.* The relative scarcity of this construction in the classical prose writers is due in part to the humanistic interest of most of their works: man and man alone being the subject of their concern; but as F. Gaffiot says in the *Mélanges Havet*, p. 153, in regard to certain usages of old Latin which are more or less avoided in classical times, they are rather a question of style than of language.

The poets were naturally freer, and this use of the reflexive is quite current in Latin poetry and some of it is quite Roman in character, v.g.: Ovid, *Amores*, I, VIII, 33, Est etiam *se* *geres*, quae se tibi conparet, illi. What an essential feature of Latin this idiomatic use of the reflexive was, is shown by the very current expressions, like SE HABERE = Fr. *se porter*, SE GERERE = Fr. *se comporter*, SE FERRE = Fr. *se rendre*, referring to everyday actions and in locations in which the metaphor which brought it about was no longer felt. Yet Mr. Ernout quotes in the *Mulom. Chir.* prout corpus se habuerit 294 as if such an expression were not found practically in every letter of Cicero, etc. Ex.: Cic., *ad Quint.*, III, I, negotia se nostra sic habent; Cf. Celsus (first century), II, II, p. 31, 1.27, aliter se corpus habere atque consuevit. In fact, this use of the reflexive with inanimate objects, which is made so much of by some scholars, is but in conformity with popular usage, which the purest classics, as we have seen, do not always disdain: it is metaphorical and has nothing to do with morphology.

The Romance passive did not come into existence through a gradual development of the reflexive voice crowding out the Latin synthetic passive. Such a view is meaningless: it does not represent the facts, it does not explain anything. Assuredly, substitute forms, which Latin used less or even not at all, have been elaborated in the Romance languages. But the passive voice was not discarded, and the question is not whether

its domain is as extensive as in Latin, but simply how its synthetic form was changed into an analytical one. The assumption that the reflexive construction was used as a sort of makeshift to avoid both a synthetic archaic passive and a vulgar analytical one is absolutely gratuitous and useless.

The real innovation in the Romance languages has been in the use of substitute forms to replace the impersonal passive and habitual or possible action: *itur*, *venitur*, and *invenitur*, *appellatur*. Although as early as Cato this latter use of the passive was sometimes replaced by the reflexive (as shown by some of the examples cited above), there is no reason to believe that the general substitution for both took place in Vulgar Latin, that is to say before the end of the eighth century. As long as the synthetic passive subsisted in its main lines (end of eighth cent.) these very useful and practical forms remained in use. Ex.: Tardif, *Cartons des Rois*, 41, 9, An. 700 (*quidquid*) . . . *possidere veditur*; *ib.*, 14, *et ut hec auctoritas firmior habiatur*; 43, An. 709, 10, *interrogatum ei fuit* (impersonal passive); 44, An. 710, 8, *Relictas et percursas ipsas precepcionis, inventum est quod taliter* (impersonal passive = *il s'est trouvé*, *on a trouvé*, *il a été trouvé*); 55, An. 755, *confirmatio de illo mercato qui dicitur Sancti Dionysii tempore Pippini regis*; 56, An. 756, *ubi Folleradus abbas et custor praeesse dinuscutur, loco aleco in pago Vereduninse quae apellatur Ad munte sancto Micaelo arcangelo*; 46, An. 716, 2, *Oportit climenciae princepale inter ceteras petitionis illut que pro salute adscribetur et pro divine nominis postolatur plagabile auditum suscipere, et, procul dubium ad aefectum perducere, quatenus de caducis rebus presente seculi aeterna conquiretur* (all passives that have been superseded by reflexives in the Romance languages).

Whatever may be said about the stereotyped character of these formulas, the fact remains that they teem with Romance forms in phonetics, morphology and syntax; their interest is all the greater since their date is not a matter of conjecture but one of absolute certainty. Besides they can hardly justify the well-known argument that their authors were actuated by puristic tendencies and scrupulously avoided vulgar forms. We cannot reject them altogether: here their evidence agrees entirely with what we know from other sources.

It was evidently through the blurring out of the passive desinences of the Latin infinitive that the rebuilding of the new Romance passive was necessitated.⁸ It was at first used only in cases when the context no longer helped to make the meaning clear, viz.: whether the infinitive was passive or active. *FIERI* and *ESSE* were therefore used to convey the required meaning, and this was rapidly extended to the rest of the tenses and moods on account of the availability the folk speech has always found in analytical constructions when they are timely and practical.⁹ Only purely passive meanings were consequently expressed in this new way, which laid a sort of emphasis on the passive idea: this was the need the new construction was designed to fill.

Since desire to make the meaning of the passive infinitive clear was the cause of the formation of the new analytical passive, it is perfectly natural that any verb besides *ESSE* and *FIERI* that could be so used might be employed, and indeed we find other forms some of which have been cited above. They have remained in use in various dialects, although *ESSE* seemed of course to have the greater chance from the very first. But what is characteristic in the Romance languages is a tendency which recalls the time (after 750) when an emerging form had to be resorted to in the rapid abandonment of the Latin synthetic passive. It seems that in certain cases, considering the Romance languages as a unit, the vicarious forms adopted by the various dialects remain unsatisfactory, do not always convey the idea rendered by the passive endings which they

⁸ One should be careful to avoid confusing different phenomena. The *Codex Lugdunensis* was written prior to the phonetic disorder of the passive infinitive: in it are many cases of active forms (neutral meaning) employed instead of the more common passive voice, yet there is no case of confusion between the passive and the active endings in the infinitive. A rash deduction would of course interpret this use of the active for the passive as a proof of the disappearance of the passive voice in the vulgar tongue. In reality it is but a case of this shifting of meanings in verbs mentioned above (Cf. Draeger, I, p. 142 ff.), *Codex Lugdun.*, Levit, XV, 18, et mulier si manserit vir cum ea et lavabunt aqua; Vulgata: Mulier cum qua coierit lavabitur aqua.

⁹ That the popular speech does not adopt blindly every possible analytical construction is proved by many facts. One of these is the survival until late in the Middle Ages of the possessive dative construction (*la maison le roi*), although *DE* as an analytical expression of the possessive was not unknown in Latin.

have replaced, viz.: they do not distinguish sufficiently between the action and its result. We are therefore struck by the varieties of forms thus worked out to get nearer to the original meaning. In Meyer-Lubke's grammar, III, p. 331 ff., we see gathered all the various substitutes. French is the language that seems to have been most easily satisfied with the substitution. With a genius looking more for clearness than for expressiveness it did not feel to the same extent the need of a better rendering of the idea.

Latin was, and justly so, satisfied with but one form, which in sound and in idea was assuredly one of the finest features of the language; why should it have discarded it unless absolutely compelled to do so? It must not be supposed either that it had a learned character which put it well-nigh beyond the reach of the vulgar. Such a reasoning would be comparable to the English speaking person nonplussed at the genders of nouns in other languages and refusing to believe that they are not artificial difficulties put up by grammarians and without any connexion with everyday language. Most of the latinized occidental races had a synthetic passive akin to Latin, and some Celtic dialects have preserved traces of it to this day.

As for Körting's clever deduction that, had the passive survived it would have given rise to almost impossible forms according to the phonetics of French dialects (*Formenlehre*, p. 9), this of course refers to the period of great phonetic transformation posterior to the ninth century; besides, it leaves untouched the question of the disappearance of the passive forms from the Italian dialects—more conservative, as they are, of the Latin sounds. Also, phonetic laws are not so absolute that they cannot adapt themselves to the necessities of the language.

To conclude: Our consideration of many facts seems to warrant the following statements:

(1) That the theory of the disappearance of the synthetic Latin passive and its replacement by an analytical passive of the Romance type in Vulgar Latin is absolutely unfounded; that it is not the result of the study of linguistic facts, but a preconceived idea dating back to the early period of Romance philology and preserved since then as a sort of linguistic dogma

resting on faith rather than insight. The would-be proofs adduced in its support may have the air of being confirmatory, but are neither fundamental nor conclusive.

(2) Evidence cited above and borne out by texts and accurately interpreted shows that the Latin synthetic passive did not break down until the second half of the eighth century, when the *Lingua Romana rustica* may be regarded as essentially evolved from Latin and was thus considered by the contemporaries. A new analytical passive became conspicuously a growing and outstanding feature of the *Lingua Romana rustica*. This feature was not one belonging to the Latin folk-speech.

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AN ITALIAN LEGEND IN PIERRE DAMIAN

IN describing a swamp in the neighborhood of Pozzuoli, Italy, which was commonly believed to be one of the entrances of Hell, Pierre Damian mentions a species of birds living apparently in the surrounding marshes and regarded by the population and evidently also by the saint as the souls of condemned sinners who obtain a respite from their tortures over the week-end. The text reads as follows:¹

Ex quibus videlicet exhalantibus aquis consueto more teterrime videntur aviculae repente consurgere et a vespertina sabbati hora usque ad ortum secundae feriae solitae sunt humanis aspectibus apparere. Quo indulti temporis spatio videntur hinc inde per montem velut solutae vinculis libere spatari. Alas extendunt, plumas rostro prosequenta depectunt, et in quantum datur intelligi, concessa ad tempus refrigerii se tranquillitate resolvunt. Quae profecto volucres nec unquam videntur vesci, nec quolibet aucupis valent ingenio capi. Dilucescente igitur matutina secunde feriae hora, ecce magnus ad instar vulturis corvus post praefatus aviculas incipit concavo gutture graviter crocitare. Illae protinus sese aquis immergentes abscondunt, nec ultra videndas se humanis oculis offerunt, donec advesperascente iam sabbati die, de sulphurei stagni voragine rursus emergunt. Unde nonnulli perhibent eas hominum esse animas ultricibus gehennae supplicii deputatas. Quae nimirum reliquo totius hebdomadae tempore cruciantur, dominico autem die cum adiacentibus ultra citoque noctibus pro dominicae resurrectionis gloria refrigerio potiuntur.

A similar legend, likewise localized in Campania, on the island of Ischia, is found in Conrad of Querfurt (end of the twelfth century). His reading presents the following account:²

Videntur circa eundem locum qualibet die sabbathi, circa horam nonam, volucres in quadam valle nigrae et sulphureo fumo deturpatae, quae ibi quiescunt per totum diem dominicum, et in vespere cum maximo dolore et planctu recedunt, numquam

¹ *Epistola IX, ad Nicolaum II pontificem maximum. Opera*, Paris, 1663, t. III, p. 186. Cf. also Vinc. Belov. *Spec. hist.*, lib. XXVI, cap. 62.

² Leibniz, *Script. rer. Brunsv.*, t. II, p. 698.

nisi in sequenti sabbatho reversurae, et descendunt in lacum ferventem. Quas quidam afflictas animas arbitrantur vel daemones.

Since both texts are undoubtedly independent of each other and moreover differ in the localization of the legend, it is reasonably safe to conclude that we have here not merely a piece of monastic symbolism, as might at first sight be supposed, but a genuine local tradition which both the Italian and the German heard told in Campania. If this be true, the story is likely to be of other than ecclesiastical origin, in spite of the monastic and theological coloring which it naturally assumed under the pen of the two mediaeval writers. But we are not left to conjecture alone. The legend has a certain peculiar ring and shows features which point to beliefs current in antiquity rather than to the doctrines of the Church.

In the first place, the localization of Hell in the netherworld, notwithstanding the wonderful artistic treatment it has received at the hands of Christian writers such as Dante, is not of Christian, *i.e.* of Hebrew, origin. It was taken over by the Church, at an early date, from Greek and Roman paganism. It may of course be contended that even so this belief had become a fixed doctrine by the time of Pierre Damian and may have operated to form the legend. Both Damian and Conrad speak however about the Entrance of Hell. The Church never urged the faithful to hold any such opinions, though her priests and even members of the higher clergy probably encouraged local traditions to that effect. Local legends concerning entrances to the netherworld are however extremely frequent in Greek and Roman antiquity.

The Greeks supposed such entrances to exist in the neighborhood of Acharaka, between Nysa and Tralles, in Caria,³ at Ephyra in Thesprotia Epirus,⁴ at Heraklea Pontica,⁵ at Hierapolis, Phrygia,⁶ between Magnesia and Myos, in Caria.⁷ Tainaron in Laconia had its entrance to Hades, famous in Greek

³ Strabo, *Geogr.* XVI. 1. 44.

⁴ Pausanias, *Descr. Gr.* IX. 30. 6.

⁵ Apoll. Rh. *Argon.* I. 353; 740.

⁶ Strabo, XIII. 4. 14.

⁷ Strabo, XII. 8. 17; XIV. 1. 11.

hero lore, as both Herakles and Orpheus were said to have descended there.⁸ Near Troizen, in Argolis, Herakles was said to have ascended with Kerberos.⁹ Theseus and Peirithoos were supposed to have descended near Kolonos, near Tainaron, or perhaps at Hermione.¹⁰ Nor are such legends absent in Italy. A well-known entrance to Orcus was near Cumae, in Campania;¹¹ another in Sicily, where Pluto had abducted Proserpina. Often the gates of the netherworld are lakes and springs, the most famous of the former being unquestionably the swampy waters near Lerna, where Herakles killed the Hydra.¹² Volcanic phenomena, whether or not connected with bodies of water, were especially apt to attract the attention of the inhabitants and to give to a certain locality the fame of a gate of Hades.¹³ Sometimes islands acquired the same reputation.¹⁴ There can be no doubt that Lower Italy with the volcanic nature of its geological formation, its volcanic islands and dangerous swamps exhaling poisonous vapors, abounded in such supposed gates of the lower world and in cults attached to them.¹⁵

It is understandable that such local traditions, fostered not only by mere beliefs but by regular cults as well, could not easily be eradicated by the Church. The most the clergy could do was to abolish the official cults and to attempt to replace the ancient, pagan Hades by the Christian and mediaeval Inferno.

The motif of condemned souls appearing in the shape of birds is not strange to Christian legend. It is found in Palladius,¹⁶ in the legend of the Three Monks,¹⁷ in Saint Boniface,¹⁸ and in several of the Lives of Saint Patrick, where it occurs in a modified form and whence it passed into the pages of Dudo of

⁸ Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, München, 1906, p. 167.

⁹ Pausanias, XXXI. 2.

¹⁰ Gruppe, p. 401.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 815.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 815.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 813.

¹⁵ Cf. Strabo, V. 4. 5; Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* III. 442; VII. 81 ff.

¹⁶ L. Guercio, *Di alcuni rapporti tra le visioni medievali e la Divina Commedia*, Roma, 1909, p. 94.

¹⁷ A. Graf, *Miti, Leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, Torino, 1892-93, I, 85.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 255.

St. Quentin and the other Norman chroniclers who drew on him.¹⁹ But it would be erroneous to suppose that Christian symbolism created this theme. On the contrary, as in so many other instances, Christianity only worked over old folkloristic *données*, giving them a Christian aspect, but leaving the base untouched. It is a belief with many peoples that at death the soul leaves the body in the shape of an insect or a bird.²⁰ There is enough evidence to show that such notions once prevailed among the Mediterranean peoples, notably the Greeks.²¹ In a large number of Hellenic and Italic legends the appearance of a man's soul in bird form is even represented as a punishment; but inasmuch as ancient religion had not been successful in elaborating a hereafter with gradated rewards and punishments, this retribution generally assumed the form of a metamorphosis into birds. It is unnecessary here to mention examples; Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are a true storehouse of them.

One of the most remarkable of these and especially interesting on account of its localization in Southern Italy is found in the fourteenth book of Ovid's work.²² There Diomedes, who had settled in Italy after the close of the Trojan War, narrates the mishap that befell his sailors when they were transformed into birds by Venus, and adds a description of the birds:

506 ff. numerusque ex agmine maior
subvolat et remos plausis circumvolat alis,
si volucrum quae sit subitarum forma, requiris,
ut non cygnorum, sic albis proxima cygnis.

Ovid's version substantially agrees with the story told by Strabo²³ which presents the following reading:

ἐν ᾗ (sc. νῆσῳ) καὶ τὸν Διομήδην μυθεύουσιν ἀφανισθῆναι τινες καὶ τοὺς
ἐταίρους ἀπορριθῶ θῆναι καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν διαμένειν ἡμέρους καὶ βίον τινα ζῆν

¹⁹ Neophilologus, VIII, 81-85.

²⁰ O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, III, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 476 ff. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Berlin, 1875-8, p. 690, III, 246; K. F. Karjalainen, *Die Religion der Jugravölker*, Helsinki, 1921-22, I, 193. Sir J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1914, pp. 33 ff.

²¹ G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst*, 1902; O. Gruppe, *Bericht über die Literatur zur antiken Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig 1921, pp. 129, 251-2.

²² Vv. 483-511.

²³ *Geogr.* VI, p. 284.

ἀνθρώπινον τάξει τε διαίτης καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἡμερότητι τοὺς ἐπιεικέας,
ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κακοῦργων καὶ μαρῶν φυγῇ.

The trait of the birds being tame with good men but shy towards criminals is peculiar to Strabo's account.²⁴ A somewhat different version is given by Pliny,²⁵ who drew on Juba:

Nec Diomedias praeteribo aves. Iuba cataractas vocat et eis esse dentes oculosque igneo colore, cetero candidis, tradens. duos semper his duces, alterum ducere agmen, alterum cogere. scrobes excavare rostro, inde crate consternere et operire terra quae ante fuerit egesta. in his fetificare. fores binas omnium scrobibus orientem spectare quibus exeant in pascua, occasum quibus redeant. alvum exoneraturas subvolare semper et contrario flatu. uno hae in loco totius orbis visuntur, in insula quam diximus nobilem Diomedis tumulo atque delubro, contra Apuliae oram, fulicarum similes. advenas barbaros clangore infestant, Graecis tantum adulantur miro discrimine, velut generi Diomedis hoc tribuentes, eademque eam cotidie pleno gutture madentibus pennis perluunt atque purificant, unde origo fabulae Diomedis socios in earum effigies mutatos.

The localization given by Pliny agrees with that of Servius in his Vergil commentary.²⁶ Both Vergil²⁷ and Ovid mention the lamenting sounds of their shrieking while fluttering among the rocks.

Scholars are not agreed as to the species of bird meant by the ancient authors. But the descriptions of Ovid and Isidor make it fairly certain that some sort of web-footed bird is referred to, related to the shearwater.²⁸

My own knowledge of the South Italian bird fauna does not permit me to arrive at greater precision. Pliny asserts that they live only in one place in the world, namely, on the island of Diomede near the shore of Apulia; Servius agrees with him,

²⁴ According to Aristotle the birds attack barbarians; cf. Fritz Bucherer, *Die Diomedessage*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1892, p. 71. According to Antoninus Liberalis, cap. XXXVII, they are tame in the presence of Greeks but fly away at the approach of Illyrian ships.

²⁵ *Hist. Nat.* X. 44. 6.

²⁶ Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* XI. 271.

²⁷ *Aen.* XI. 273: fluminibusque vagantur aves, heu dira meorum Supplicia: et scopulos lacrimosis vocibus implent.

²⁸ According to Iuba they resemble herons (*ipaduiol*, fulicae = herons). The scholiast on Lykophron agrees with that; cf. Bucherer, p. 70.

as we have seen. This locality is sufficiently removed from Campania to suggest identity of the birds of Diomedes with those of Pierre Damian and Conrad of Querfurt. It is noteworthy, however, that both kinds are evidently water birds, liking the sea or the swamps, that those of the ancients as well as those of Conrad live on islands, that both attracted the attention of the people by their lamenting shrieks and were in consequence considered souls atoning for some misdeed. The fact that Damian and Conrad do not agree in the locality of the legend would point to the likelihood that it was not rooted in one spot of Italy only, but in quite a number of them. Moreover, Diomedes is known to have dominated the Adriatic. He was the chief hero of Metapontum,²⁹ the founder of Beneventum,³⁰ Equus Tuticus,³¹ Lanuvium,³² Venafrum³³ and Argurippa,³⁴ and was worshipped not only by the colonizing Greeks, but by the Umbrian and Venetian tribes as well.³⁵ There can be no doubt, then, that in ancient times both the hero and his legend were known in Campania as well as in the rest of Southern Italy.

At any rate, the story as told by the two mediaeval writers presents so strong a similarity with the reports of the ancient writers concerning the followers of Diomedes who are doomed to haunt a lonely and gloomy place in the shape of aquatic birds that the mediaeval tale is very probably but a reworking of the pagan legend in a Christian sense.

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²⁹ L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford, 1921, p. 290.

³⁰ Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* XI. 246; VIII. 9; Procop. *De bell. Goth.* I. 5.

³¹ Serv. VIII. 9.

³² Appian, *De bell. civ.* II. 20.

³³ Serv. XI. 246.

³⁴ Farnell, *loc. cit.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

LOPE DE VEGA'S PARTE XXVII EXTRAVAGANTE

THE *partes extravagantes*, or *Partes XXVI, XXVII and XXVIII*, of Lope de Vega, form, as every student of the bibliography of Lope knows, the subject of several pages of an article by Professor Rennert which appeared a number of years ago in the *Modern Language Review*.¹ It will be recalled that in this article Professor Rennert, after a careful examination of all the evidence, expressed the conviction that these *partes* once really existed, although he had not been able to find any one of them.

It was my good fortune to discover a copy of one of these *partes*, namely, the 27th, in Barcelona during a very brief stop in that city in the summer of 1923. The copy in question is in the library of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans. I promptly made my discovery known to the scholars at the Institut, but so far as I am aware no description of the volume based on an actual examination of it has yet been published. Inasmuch as the existence of this *parte* in a library that is relatively accessible may eventually help to solve several problems of authorship, I believe that the matter should be called to the attention of students of Lope de Vega. It is for this reason that I offer, somewhat tardily, the following description taken from my notes.

In its present state the volume is bound in parchment; on the back one reads: "Lope Comedias p^a 27."

The first folio, recto, is blank except for a signature (a former owner's?): "De Dalmases y Sans." The verso is blank.

The recto of the second folio is the title-page and reads as follows: LAS|COMEDIAS DEL|FENIX DE ESPAÑA|LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO.|PARTE VEINTE Y SIETE.|DIRIGIDAS AL DOCTOR IVAN PEREZ|DE MONTALVAN,

¹"Notes on some *Comedias* of Lope de Vega," MLR, vol. 1 (1905-1906), pp. 96-110: cf. pp. 98-103.

NATURAL DE|la Villa de Madrid.|Año (vignette ²) 163[3] ³|
CON [LICENCI]A [En] Barcelona [Año] de [1633].⁴

The verso of the title-page is blank.

The recto of the third folio is occupied by (1) a brief dedication to Montalván signed: "Amigo de v. m.," and (2), under the caption: "Titulos de las comedias qve se contienen en este volumen veinte y siete parte," a list of the plays contained in the volume. In this list the last six titles are indented further on the page than the first six.

The verso of this third folio contains the "Aprovacion, y licencia" by Andrés Omella, dated: "En Zaragoza, a 4. de Enero de 1633." This is followed by: "Imprimatur. El Doctor Francisco la Peña V. G."

Then come, in the same order as in the table of contents, the following plays:

(1) *Por la puente Ivana*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio.—37 pages, unnumbered.

(2) *Celos con celos se curan*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio.—43 pages, unnumbered.

These two plays occupy five signatures, of eight folios each, lettered A to E. The first play ends on the recto of the third folio of signature C, and the second begins on the verso of this folio. At the end of the second play, following the words: "Fin del tercer acto," is a vignette.

(3) *Lanza por lanza de Lvys Almanza*.⁵ Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio. Representola Avendaño.—Fols. 21-38r°; ⁶ signatures D, E, F (latter composed of 2 folios).

(4) *El Sastre del Campillo*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio. Representola Manuel Vallejo.—Fols. 39-62v°; signatures G, H, I. Vignette at end.

(5) *Alla das rayo*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega

² The same vignette as on the title-page of the first edition of the *Quijote*, but without the four straight lines which form the quadrangular frame for it in the *Quijote*.

³ The paper is torn, only the top of the last figure remaining.

⁴ The lower part of the page is torn off irregularly, only the words and letters not bracketed being left.

⁵ Not "la de Lvys Almanza."

⁶ The lower part of fol. 38r and the entire verso is occupied by a "Romance de los primos Amantes," the first verse of which is: "A llorar su amarga ausencia."

Carpio. Representola Manuel Vallejo.—Fols. 63–80v; signatures K, L, M (latter composed of 2 folios).

(6) *La selva confusa*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio. Representola Manuel Vallejo.—Fols. 81–102v^o; signatures N, O, P (latter composed of 6 folios).

(7) *De Ivlian Romero*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio. Representola Antonio de Prado.—Fols. 101⁷–122v^o; signatures Q, R, S (latter composed of 6 folios). Vignette at end.

(8) *De los Vargas de Castilla*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio. Representola Antonio de Prado.—Fols. 123–146r^o; ⁸ signatures T, V, X.

(9) *El Medico de su honra*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio. Representola Avendaño.—Fols. 1–20v^o; signatures A, B, C (latter composed of 4 folios). Vignette at end.

(10) *De los milagros del desprecio*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio. Representola Avendaño.—Fols. 1–17r^o; signatures A, B, C (play ending on the recto of the first folio of signature C⁹).

(11) *El Infanzon de Illescas*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio. Representola Avendaño.—Fols. 1–21v^o; signatures A, B, and five folios lettered as follows: C, C₂, C₃, —, D. At end: "Fin de la famosa comedia del Infanzon de Illescas."

(12) *El Marques de las Nabas*. Comedia famosa. De Lope de Vega Carpio.—Fols. 1–18v^o; signatures A, B, C (latter composed of 2 folios). At end: "FIN."

A head-band adorns the top of the first page of each of the twelve plays. That of nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8 may be seen, shortened at each end by the cutting off of 10 cm. of the design, in the middle of a page of Tasso's *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (Hatfield, London, 1600) reproduced in D. B. Updike's *Printing Types*, etc. (Cambridge [U. S. A.], 1922), vol. II, opposite p. 131. It will be noticed that if this ornament is cut up into twelve equal

⁷ Although the preceding play ends on fol. 102v^o, the numbering of the folios of this play begins with 101.

⁸ Fol. 146v^o is occupied by "Aqui da fin la famosa comedia de los Vargas de Castilla" and a vignette.

⁹ At the bottom of fol. 17r^o begins an "Entremes del Bosque de Cupido," of which the first six verses are on this page, the remainder occupying fols. 17v^o, 18r^o and 18v^o.

sections, the 4th and 5th (or 8th and 9th) sections taken together form a motif the heavier lines of which represent roughly four miniature and somewhat shortened sickles arranged in two pairs, with the four points toward the center, the cutting edges of each pair facing each other, and the four handles in a horizontal position pointing outwards, while the lighter lines represent delicate branches of foliage bending inwards and continuing the curve of the blades of the sickles.

Slight differences in the sizes of type used throughout the volume are discernible.

The broken pagination and the several independent series of signatures indicate clearly that these twelve plays were not set up to form a regular volume. Nos. 1 and 2, having a continuous pagination, appear, as Salvá surmised,¹⁰ to be the beginning of a *parte* now lost. Nos. 3 to 8 inclusive also seem to have been Nos. 2 to 7 inclusive of a *parte* which has disappeared,¹¹ although the fact that each play begins a new signature is evidence that the printer also intended them to be sold as *sueltas*. The last four plays of the collection are in all probability all *sueltas*.

The volume has every appearance of having been put together by an enterprising bookseller who had a special title-page, preliminaries, etc., printed for the purpose. It is quite possible that no other volume *exactly like* it was ever made up, although we have evidence of the existence of three other *similar* collections of twelve *comedias* each to which the title of *Parte XXVII* seems to have been applied, each collection having had its own printed table of contents. These are: (1) the volume which Fajardo had before him (or knew of) when he gave the contents of a *Parte XXVII extravagante*;¹² (2) a volume of which a fragment is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid (R i 57)—fragment composed of *Por la puente*, *Juana and Celos con celos se curan*, and preceded by a manuscript list of *comedias* purporting to form the "*Parte 27 de Lope*";¹³ and (3) Tomo 133

¹⁰ *Catálogo*, I, p. 548; cf. also J. Gómez Ocerin, *Para la bibliografía de Lope*, in *Rev. Fil. Esp.*, I (1914), p. 405.

¹¹ Cf. Salvá, *loc. cit.*, p. 548, and Rennert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

¹² See Barrera, *Catálogo*, pp. 682 and 684.

¹³ See Ocerin, *loc. cit.* It will be noticed that the number of pages, the signatures and other details of this fragment are the same as those of the two plays as they are found in the Barcelona volume described above.

of the Osuna library.¹⁴ Barrera's list, taken from Fajardo, of plays composing the *Parte XXVII extravagante* appears to be incomplete, having only eleven titles: it is very probable that the title overlooked by either Fajardo or Barrera is *Julian Romero*. Likewise, the Osuna volume seems to have lacked one play to be complete, and inasmuch as we have at least two copies of *Por la puente*, *Juana* and *Celos con celos se curan* printed together, it is almost certain that the first of these two plays, together with the title-page and preliminaries, had been lost from the volume before its contents were communicated to Schack by Durán.¹⁵ If these two conjectures regarding missing titles be correct, we find that there were eight *comedias*¹⁶ common to all four of the collections mentioned in this article; that in three cases out of four¹⁷ the first two plays of each collection were *Por la puente*, *Juana* and *Celos con celos se curan*; and that, finally, the six plays (nos. 3 to 8 inclusive in the Barcelona volume) were found, though not always in the same order, in all four collections with the single exception that the list attached to the Biblioteca Nacional's fragment does not contain the last of the six titles, namely, *Los Vargas de Castilla*.¹⁸ The remaining plays of the several collections seem to have been selected from the bookseller's stock of Lope de Vega *sueftas* more or less at random, and this may be one of the reasons why Fajardo, who may have seen several of these volumes, gave to this *Parte XXVII*, as well as to the unknown *Partes XXVI* and *XXVIII*, the name of *Extravagantes*.

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¹⁴ Now lost. See Rennert, *Bibliography of Lope de Vega*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, xxxiii (1915), p. 37.

¹⁵ See Schack, *Nachträge*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁶ Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9 of the Barcelona volume.

¹⁷ The exception is Fajardo's list, copied by Barrera. Since these two plays as we have them in the Barcelona volume and in the Madrid fragment cannot be separated for the reason that the second play begins on the verso of the folio on which the first one ends, one cannot help suspecting that the list in Barrera's *Catálogo* does not follow the order in which the plays appeared in the volume used by Fajardo.

¹⁸ It is hardly necessary for me to state that my conclusions regarding the Biblioteca Nacional's fragment contradict the opinion of Señor Ocerin, who believes that the fragment in question has nothing to do with the *Parte XXVII extravagante*.

THE FORMS OF ADDRESS IN THE NOVELAS EJEMPLARES OF CERVANTES¹

THE purpose of this study is to present the statements of the grammarians and commentators relative to the uses of the forms of address in and about the time of Cervantes, and to determine whether or not those forms found in the *Novelas ejemplares* can be grouped under the existing categories. It is apparent to the reader of the *Novelas* that there is no strict differentiation in the employment of the various forms, *tú*, *vos*, and *vuestra merced*, there being a medley of seeming confusion and inconsistency. On the other hand, there is little or no agreement among the grammarians as to what were the proper usages of the forms in Cervantes' time. Especially is there a diversity of opinion with regard to *vos*. Consequently the only manner in which to secure a well-defined consensus of opinion is to bring together the statements of as many as have dared to commit themselves on the subject.

It should be remembered, however, that the grammarians do not always attempt to take account of the exceptional and abnormal, but rather of that which is regular and usual. Keeping this in mind, there will be no attempt made to classify under rules those forms of address which are not cared for by the grammatical authorities. Rather we shall proceed to test the statements of the grammarians by confronting them with the usage of an authority far greater than they—the unapproachable stylist Cervantes.

It would be difficult to find a collection better fitted to such an investigation than are the *Novelas ejemplares*; they survey the whole panorama of life from gypsy to queen. Those that live and speak in them are from every walk of life, from the lowest to the highest, and the dialogue coming from these people is natural and free. The stories are narrative and conversational and not poetical or oratorical.

¹ An excellent study by Professor Arthur St. Clair Sloan, entitled "Pronouns of Address in Don Quijote," is to be found in Vol. XIII of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*.

The forms of address will be considered in the following order, *tú*, *vos*, and *vuestra merced*.

It might not be amiss, however, to take at first a glance at *él* used as a pronoun of address. Many of the grammarians do not take this usage into account, but Correas says of it, "*El usan los mayores con el que no quieren darle merced, ni tratarle de vos, que es más bajo, y propio de amos a criados. La vulgar y de aldea que no tiene uso de hablar con merced, llama de él al que quiere honrar de los de su jaez,*" adding, ". . . y cuando nos enojamos y reñimos con alguno, le tratamos de *él* y de *vos* por desdén."²

Salazar mentions *él* as being used "a gente amigos familiares."³

Covarrubias says of *él*, "Los ávaros de cortesías han hallado entre *vuestra merced* y *vos* este término de *él*."⁴

We can see from these few statements that the word was none too complimentary, whenever used. It is doubtful if *él* as a form of address can be identified in any of the *Novelas*. Considering the many classes and social strata represented in the stories its absence would seem to indicate that its employment in address was extremely rare if it existed at all in Cervantes' time. There are to be found, however, numerous examples of the third person of the verb used in direct address.⁵ It is a question whether *él* or *vuestra merced* is to be understood as the subject in these cases. In many of them, however, the latter form seems to be ruled out because of the speaker, the person spoken to, and the conditions under which the speech is made.

The sole commentator on the third person of the verb used in direct address without the subject pronoun is Buchanan, in Lope's *Amar sin saber a quién*,⁶ and he has but a single remark: "The third person of the verb is used, without the pronoun, by Don Juan to strangers."⁷

² Correas, *Arte grande de la Lengua Castellana*, Madrid, 1903, p. 233.

³ Salazar, *Expexo General de la Gramática en Diálogos*, Rouen, 1614, p. 175. (Quoted by Rodríguez Marín in *Don Quijote*, III, p. 448.)

⁴ Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana*, 1611, II, p. 224.

⁵ Works of Cervantes, ed. of Rodríguez Marín in *Clásicos Castellanos*, IX, p. 49, l. 14; p. 42, l. 26.

⁶ Holt & Co., N. Y., 1920.

⁷ P. 133.

In this connection it is well to note that Quevedo, in his prologue to the *Sueños*, remarks as follows: "Supuesto que nuestra lengua vulgar a diferencia de la latina tiene un *vuesa-merced* y otros varios títulos cuando no se conoce la calidad y estado de la persona con quien se habla." ⁸

With regard to the three pronouns with which this paper has to do in particular, there was undoubtedly confusion among the users in their choice of the proper form for the proper occasion. Thus it is that in literature they are a subject which receives a good deal of attention, and we often find characters correcting one another or protesting against the use of such and such a form, or themselves laying down formulae for the correct usage of the various pronouns. In Tirso's *La huerta de Juan Fernández*, Tomasa says to doña Petronila:

"Ya soy vuestro lacayuelo,
a lo aragonés, regacho.
Mudad, señor, en *tú* el *vos*;
que el *vos* en los caballeros
es bueno para escuderos." ⁹

And in Lope's *¿De cuándo acá nos vino?*, Bertha observes:

"Antes vives engañado
que el *tú* y el *vos* se han usado
para el *vuesa-merced* jamás
fué de nadie desmentido,
ni enojado ni ofendido." ¹⁰

The following are the statements of the grammarians with reference to *tú*:

Clemencín says ". . . El *tú* denotaba, o gran superioridad en quien lo daba, como cuando se dirigía a criados o a personas de baja esfera, o indica también superioridad y cariño, como entre hermanos, esposos y amigos." ¹¹

Juan de Luna, "El primero y mas bajo es *tú*, que se da a los niños, o a las personas que queremos mostrar grande familiaridad, o amor." ¹²

⁸ Ed. of Pamplona, 1631.

⁹ Act. I, scene I.

¹⁰ Act II, scene XI.

¹¹ Clemencín, *Don Quijote*, Madrid, 1894, VII, note to chap. XL.

¹² Juan de Luna, *Diálogos familiares*, Paris, 1619, dialogue I.

Salazar simply says of *tú* that it was used, "Como del padre al hijo, o del amo al criado."¹³

Covarrubias says of this pronoun, "No se dice sino a criados, humildes, y a personas bajas . . . y al mismo Dios."¹⁴

Correas, "De *tú* se trata a los muchachos y menores de la familia, y a los que se quisieren bien."¹⁵

Monreal states that "*Tú* era ya entonces el tratamiento de los amantes."¹⁶

Cejador, obviously copying Clemencín, remarks of *tú*, "Denotaba entonces como ahora, o gran superioridad en quien lo daba, a criados, a personas de baja estofa, o superioridad y cariño y gran familiaridad, a los de la familia y amigos íntimos."¹⁷

Buchanan, in his edition of Lope's play above referred to, states that "*Tú* is used by intimate friends, including brothers and sisters, master and servant, mistress and maid, manservant and maid, and between lovers."¹⁸

In summarizing the above we find that *tú* was used:

In address to children, servants, and to social inferiors; between intimate friends, between members of a family, between servants, between lovers; and in address to the Deity.

It has been necessary to examine every case of direct address in the *Novelas ejemplares*.¹⁹ The examination has shown that the classifications of the grammarians cover for the most part Cervantes' use of *tú*.

With the privilege of a father don Diego de Carriazo addresses his son with *tú*, in *La ilustre fregona*;²⁰ and with *tú* Leocadia, in *La fuerza de la sangre*, calls upon her father and mother.²¹

¹³ Salazar, *Expeo general*, quoted by Rodríguez Marín, *Don Quijote*, III, p. 448.

¹⁴ Covarrubias, *Tesoro de lengua*, II, p. 179.

¹⁵ Correas, *Arte Grande*, p. 233.

¹⁶ Monreal, *Cuadros Viejos*, Madrid, 1878, p. 183.

¹⁷ Cejador, *La Lengua de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1906, II, p. 1154.

¹⁸ P. 133.

¹⁹ For seven of the *Novelas* references are made to Rodríguez Marín's edition in *Clásicos castellanos*, and for the five not contained therein references are made to the facsimile reproduction of the *princeps* by the *Real Academia Española*, Madrid, 1917.

²⁰ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 338.

²¹ Facsimile, p. 127.

As master to servant, the Duque de Ferrara, in *La señora Cornelia*, uses *tú* with Fabio.²² *Tú* to a servant admits of more familiarity than does *vos*. In the speech just cited the Duque follows up *tú* with a friendly "Fabio amigo." In *El celoso extremeño*, Leonora addresses her dueña with *tú* and is in turn addressed with *tú* by her servant.²³ In this case the familiarity between mistress and maid is established.

As friends, Ricardo and Mahamut use the familiar *tú* in their conversation with each other, in *El amante liberal*.²⁴

As lovers, we find Leonora and Ricardo, in *El amante liberal*, addressing each other with *tú*.²⁵ There are, however, cases where the use of *tú* is not reciprocal between lovers; the woman being addressed with *tú*, and the man with *vos*. Thus, in *La española inglesa*, Ricaredo uses *tú* to Isabela, and she invariably replies with *vos*,²⁶ except on one occasion which will be noted later.

It is from the superiority of his position among the robbers that Monipodio, in *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, uses *tú* whenever speaking to individual members of his clan.²⁷

There are, besides these, several uses of *tú* that are not taken care of by the traditional classification. There is a group of cases where *tú* is used to manifest sentiment or emotion, and this without regard to the person addressed. This use of *tú* is common enough in modern Spanish and was of frequent occurrence in the time of Cervantes, but the grammarians cited above make no mention of its use in this manner. In consulting the later dictionaries we find that the authorities are aware of this emotional *tú* in their own time. Padre Esteban de Terreros y Panda (to make only one citation) says of *tú*, "Se usa para manifestar la admiración, la ira, el dolor."²⁸ In anger don Juan de Gamboa, in *La señora Cornelia*, is accosted with *tú* by a member of the group which is attacking the Duque de Ferrara

²² Facs., p. 230.

²³ Rodríguez Marín, X, p. 141.

²⁴ Facs., p. 41.

²⁵ Facs., p. 56.

²⁶ Facs., p. 88.

²⁷ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 196.

²⁸ Terreros, *Diccionario Castellano*, Madrid, 1788, III.

and which he has just accused of being composed of cowards.²⁹ In anger Ricardo, in *El amante liberal*, uses *tú* to his rival, Cornelio.³⁰ And in the same story the fighting pashas upbraid each other with *tú*.³¹ In *La fuerza de la sangre* it is with considerable emotion that Leocadia employs the same term in addressing her ravisher.³² A "mozo de mulas," in *La ilustre fregona*, addresses Costanza's serenader with *tú* when he feels his aesthetic sense outraged by the latter's music.³³

There are cases, where *tú* is apparently employed without license, that can be explained only on the basis of assumed familiarity. In *El celoso extremeño*, when Loaysa has gained entrance to the home of the jealous old husband he is addressed by one of the doncellas with *tú*.³⁴ La Gallega, in *La ilustre fregona*, when trying to secure admittance to the room of Lope, whom she would perforce make her lover, calls out to him with the familiar *tú*.³⁵ The most noteworthy example of this usage is, perhaps, that of Andrés to Preciosa, in *La gitanilla*, when, as a would-be suitor, he seeks for the first time her promise to become his wife.³⁶ He is, to be sure, of a higher social rank, but this and all the advantages of wealth he promises to cast aside in order to put himself on her level. In his use of *tú* he assumes familiarity and equality with Preciosa that she may better realize his sincerity.

There is a group of cases, and by no means a small one, in which *tú* is used in apostrophe. We should expect, of course, to find the use of *tú* in apostrophe governed by the same rules that determine its use elsewhere, and this seems to be the case in the *Novelas*. Teodosia, in *Las dos doncellas*, uses *tú* in apostrophe to her absent lover.³⁷ In an angry apostrophe to Alí Pasha by the Cadi, in *El amante liberal*, *tú* is the pronoun of address.³⁸ In *La gitanilla* Cervantes, himself, takes the

²⁹ Facs., p. 214.

³⁰ Facs., p. 42.

³¹ Facs., p. 61.

³² Facs., p. 133.

³³ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 292.

³⁴ *Id.*, X, p. 147.

³⁵ *Id.*, IX, p. 293.

³⁶ *Id.*, IX, p. 42.

³⁷ Facs., p. 192.

³⁸ Facs., p. 61.

liberty of apostrophizing the "poderosa fuerza deste que llaman dulce dios de la amargura." As if addressing Deity he uses *tú*.³⁹ And the Licenciado Vidriera, in his farewell address to the "Corte," uses *tú*.⁴⁰

In the *Novelas ejemplares* there are two instances of the use of *tú* which seem to have no ready and satisfactory explanation. In *El amante liberal*, two Pashas and a Cadi, officials of some rank and among whom we should expect some dignity, address one another with *tú*, even in public.⁴¹ Intimacy cannot be the explanation here, because the only evidence of familiarity that exists between them is their employment of the familiar pronoun. The thing most evident among the three is a jealous rivalry, and their use of *tú* may be ascribed to the fear of each that some prestige would attach to one of the others should he be addressed by a more respectful term.

The other instance occurs in *La española inglesa*. Ricaredo, the "General" in charge of a squadron of ships, is addressed, by one of the captives whom he has just freed from a Turkish slave ship, with the intimate pronoun *tú*.⁴² The man's former station in life was that of a gentleman of good birth and standing. This fact, however, will not account for the use of *tú* under such circumstances: We should expect a more respectful term.

By far the most confusing of the forms of address is *vos*. It is the one about which the grammarians are most at variance, there being a diversity of notions as to whether *vos* was, or was not, a respectful form of address. In the *Novelas* it is employed in an endless variety of ways, in many instances seemingly without regard for the choice of a pronoun.

The statements of the grammarians relative to the word are as follows:

Juan de Luna deplores the use of *vos* (*vous*) in France because, in address, it makes the pauper the equal of the prince. He adds, "*Vos se dice a los criados o vasallos.*"⁴³

Salazar remarks that *vos* was used, ". . . A gente de menor

³⁹ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 80.

⁴⁰ *Id.*, p. 82.

⁴¹ *Facs.*, p. 49.

⁴² *Facs.*, p. 94.

⁴³ Juan de Luna, *Diálogos familiares*, dia. I.

estado," adding later, "De manera que cuando se habla o trata de alguno de *vos*, lo tienen a afrente muy grande por la causa dicha." ⁴⁴

Of *vos* Covarrubias adds, ". . . No todas veces es bien recibido con ser en latino término honesto y común a todos." ⁴⁵

Correas says, "De *vos* tratamos a los criados y mozos grandes, y a los labradores y personas semejantes; y entre amigos donde no hay gravedad ni cumplimiento se tratan de *vos*. Y aun en razonamientos delante de reyes, y dirigidos a ellos, se habla de *vos* con debido respeto y uso antiguo." ⁴⁶

Monreal, at greater length, says of *vos*, ". . . Lejos de significar consideración y respeto, era signo de menosprecio, o por lo menos, de familiaridad, y tan solo se usaba con personas a las que se tenía por inferiores en categoría, o con quienes mediaba íntimo trato. . . . Y añado que hasta se miraba en ocasiones como un ultraje, según era quien lo daba." Later he supplements the above statement with, "El tratamiento de *vos* no siempre era señal de menosprecio, sino que a veces demostraba confianza entre los que se lo daban mutuamente." ⁴⁷

According to Cejador, "Indicaba *vos* inferioridad." ⁴⁸

Clemencín: ". . . Denotaba generalmente en tiempo de Cervantes la inferioridad de aquél a quien se dirigía . . . cuando no era recíproco era humillante, . . . manifestaba igualdad entre las personas que lo usaban . . . sin indicar superioridad, a veces excluía la familiaridad." ⁴⁹

Castro comments as follows, "*Vos* era mirado como tratamiento demasiado bajo." ⁵⁰

Rodríguez Marín mentions *vos* as being the usual form of address ". . . entre marido y mujer," ⁵¹ later adding that it was ". . . un tratamiento que solo se daba a los inferiores, o a los iguales con grande familiaridad." ⁵²

⁴⁴ Salazar, *Expexo general*, quoted by Rodríguez Marín in *Don Quijote*, III, p. 448.

⁴⁵ Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua*, II, p. 212.

⁴⁶ Correas, *Arte grande*, p. 233.

⁴⁷ Monreal, *Cuadros viejos*, Madrid, 1878, p. 178.

⁴⁸ Cejador, *La lengua de Cervantes*, p. 1154.

⁴⁹ Clemencín, *Don Quijote*, note to ch. XL, part II.

⁵⁰ Castro, *Obras de Quevedo*, Madrid, 1911, p. 217.

⁵¹ Rodríguez Marín, *Don Quijote*, Madrid, 1916, I, p. 259.

⁵² Rodríguez Marín, *Don Quijote*, III, p. 448.

To summarize:

Vos was used in address to servants, to those of similar rank, to social inferiors, to royalty; was used reciprocally between friends and social equals; between husband and wife; and sometimes was used arrogantly and with superiority.

Before examining any instances of the use of *vos* it were well to note what favor the word had with Cervantes. In *Don Quijote*, the "cabrero," speaking of Vicente de la Roca, says, "Con una no vista arrogancia llamaba de *vos* a sus iguales, y a los mismos que le conocían." ⁵³

La Dolorida remarks to don Quijote, "No dejarán de echarnos un *vos* nuestras señoras si pensasen por ello ser reinas." ⁵⁴

In *Persiles y Sigismunda*, Antonio says, "Entiendo que él que me ha de llamar *vos* ha de ser señoría a modo de España." ⁵⁵

It might not be out of order in this connection to quote one or two passages containing the word *oislo* since a *vos* form is implied. Sancho Panza, flattered and made hopeful by the promises of don Quijote, replies to his master, "Desa manera si yo fuese rey por algún milagro de los que vuesa merced dice, por lo menos, Juana Gutiérrez mi *oislo* vendría a ser reina, y mis hijos infantes." ⁵⁶

In *La ilustre fregona*, the innkeeper calls to his wife with, "¿*Oislo*, señora?" ⁵⁷

Of this *oislo* Paz y Melia has to say, "No creo os será nuevo el marido decir a la mujer, aunque esté en compañía de muchas mujeres, para llamarla, decirle: '¿*Oislo*?' Y lo mismo ella a él, como si fuere él solo o ella el que solo lo oye, y no más de a una que lo dice el '¿*Oislo*?' " ⁵⁸

That *vos* was the common form of address cannot be doubted, and it seems that the word was often used without license. In his *Passagero*, Suárez de Figueroa remarks, "Ocasiona admiración ver con la facilidad que algunos arrojan el *vos* a las primeras vistas." ⁵⁹

⁵³ *Don Quijote*, ed. of Rodríguez Marín, I, p. 259.

⁵⁴ *Don Quijote*, ed. of Rodríguez Marín, V, p. 313.

⁵⁵ Libro I, cap. V.

⁵⁶ *Don Quijote*, Rodríguez Marín, I, p. 258.

⁵⁷ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 315.

⁵⁸ Paz y Melia, *Sales españoles*, Madrid, 1903, II, p. 74.

⁵⁹ *Alivio X*, p. 479, ed. of the Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles.

With many *vos* was evidently not a popular word, but in the *Novelas* it is bandied around by those of every rank and social level; used as a term of respect, contempt, affection, familiarity and cold formality. It is not only used by those of every rank, but it is addressed promiscuously to almost everybody, oftentimes without regard to the quality of the person addressed. In general the use of *vos* is accounted for by the above classifications but in many cases the word falls beyond their reach.

Of particular interest is the employment of *vos* to members of the serving class. It has already been mentioned, under the discussion of *tú*, that when used to servants the term did not permit the familiarity allowed by *tú*. Pérez Pastor depicting the favor in which a servant was held by his master relates, "Le estimaba en mucho y trataba diferentemente que a los demás de sus criados . . . y no le llamaba de *vos*."⁶⁰ We may also see some of the force of the word as applied to servants in the following quotation from Quevedo, "Se declara necio acantarado templado a unos sones con la grosería, al que sin ser uno criado inferior y súbdito, le llama de *vos* y en voz inteligible y alta, por el riesgo en que se pone de un mala repuesta y resolución."⁶¹

In *La señora Cornelia*, the Duque de Ferrara speaks to his faithful Fabio with *tú*;⁶² and thus doña Estefanía addresses her maid, in *El casamiento engañoso*;⁶³ but, in *La gitánilla*, the wife of the "Teniente" always employs *vos* in addressing her "escudero de brazo."⁶⁴

A group of cases sufficiently large to draw our attention has *vos* as the polite and respectful form of address between strangers and new acquaintances when rank is or is not known. In *La gitánilla*, Preciosa thus addresses the poet-page who is a comparative stranger;⁶⁵ with *vos*, in *La fuerza de la sangre*, Leocadia speaks to doña Estefanía;⁶⁶ the same word is the common form

⁶⁰ Bibliografía Madrileña, II, p. 269.

⁶¹ Quevedo, *Origen y definiciones de la necedad*, quoted by Rodríguez Marín, in *Don Quijote*, III, p. 224.

⁶² Facs., p. 230.

⁶³ Rodríguez Marín, X, p. 188.

⁶⁴ *Id.*, IX, p. 29.

⁶⁵ *Id.*, IX, p. 50.

⁶⁶ Facs., p. 426.

of address between the "corregidor" and the two caballeros, don Diego de Carriazo and don Juan de Avendaño, in *La ilustre fregona*; ⁶⁷ and between Rafael and Marco Antonio, in *Las dos doncellas*.⁶⁸ Many cases of this usage might be cited.

Vos is the form of address between strangers who, not wishing to be too familiar, have no reason to be overpolite or to show the respect that *vuesa merced* would carry. With this force it is used by the "cura" to Cornelia, in *La señora Cornelia*; ⁶⁹ by Mahamut to Leonisa, in *El amante liberal*; ⁷⁰ by Preciosa to Andrés the first time she speaks to him, in *La gitana*; ⁷¹ by Andrés to Clemente, in the same story; ⁷² and, in *El celoso extremeño*, by Loaysa to Luís.⁷³

There are several individual instances where *vos* is used that are not readily explainable. The lack of recurrence of these cases adds to the difficulty of determining whether their usage was exceptional or regular. One case is found of a father being addressed by his son with *vos*, that of Marco Antonio to his parent, in *Las dos doncellas*.⁷⁴ Trusting the statements of the grammarians we should expect to find the pronoun *tú* between father and son.

An instance of *vos* between members of a family occurs again in the same novela, when Rafael addresses his sister thus, "Sosegaos y acostaos, hermana." ⁷⁵ *Vos* in this speech is especially surprising because the brother and sister have spoken to each other until this moment with the familiar *tú*.

Don Juan and don Antonio, in *La señora Cornelia*, use *vos* in address to their "ama" ⁷⁶ who is undoubtedly of manifestly inferior rank, but the latter has no hesitancy in addressing Cornelia with the same form.⁷⁷

⁶⁷ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 340.

⁶⁸ Facs., p. 207.

⁶⁹ Facs., p. 229.

⁷⁰ Facs., p. 51.

⁷¹ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 40.

⁷² *Id.*, IX, p. 92.

⁷³ *Id.*, X, p. 112.

⁷⁴ Facs., p. 210.

⁷⁵ Facs., p. 202.

⁷⁶ Facs., p. 213.

⁷⁷ Facs., p. 223.

In *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, we find Monipodio, the chief of the robbers, addressed usually as *Vuesa Merced* by his followers. One, however, an old hag, takes the liberty of being more familiar with her lord and speaks to him with *vos*, at times following it up with "hijo."⁷⁸ What familiarity there is in the usage of *vos* here seems to be assumed on the part of the old woman because of her age.

Tú is the pronoun with which Preciosa and the other gypsy girls, in *La gitanilla*, are addressed by the folk of all classes with whom they come in contact. There is one striking instance, though, where *vos* is used instead of *tú*. The father of Andrés in speaking to Preciosa employs only *vos*.⁷⁹

Cervantes, himself, in the same story, forgetting for a moment the narration stops to address the child of his fancy, Preciosa. In doing so he uses not *tú*, but *vos*.⁸⁰

In *El coloquio de los perros*, Berganza has occasion to address himself and uses *vos*.⁸¹

Before going to the consideration of *vuestra merced* it will be well to examine certain cases in which the speaker changes from *tú* to *vos* or from *vos* to *tú*. Although instances of such changes are not exceedingly numerous they are of sufficiently frequent occurrence to merit our attention.

The old gypsy man in *La gitanilla*, in presenting Preciosa to Andrés, addresses the latter first with *tú* and later, in the same speech, changes to *vos*.⁸²

The only other change from *tú* to *vos* occurring in the *Novelas* is in *El coloquio de los perros*. Berganza's master, the drummer, while having the dog perform before a crowd, speaks to him with *tú*⁸³ and a moment later with *vos*.⁸⁴

Neither of the two cases just cited has any apparent warrant.

The changes from *vos* to *tú* are much more frequent. In *La señora Cornelia*, when the housekeeper is left alone with her new mistress she first addresses her somewhat respectfully with

⁷⁸ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 190.

⁷⁹ *Id.*, IX, p. 54.

⁸⁰ *Id.*, IX, p. 61.

⁸¹ *Id.*, X, p. 323.

⁸² *Id.*, IX, p. 69.

⁸³ *Id.*, X, p. 284.

⁸⁴ *Id.*, X, p. 286.

vos,⁸⁵ but later in her speech, when she assumes the attitude of an advisor, she forsakes this pronoun for *tú*.⁸⁶

In *La española inglesa*, Isabela, on the point of entering a nunnery, is suddenly accosted by her former lover, Ricaredo, whom she thinks dead. Believing him to be a phantom she speaks to him with *tú*, but a moment later, when convinced of his reality, she reverts to the *vos* with which she has always addressed him.⁸⁷

When Preciosa, in *La gitanilla*, finds that Andrés is in earnest about becoming her lover she changes from *vos* to the more intimate *tú*.⁸⁸ However she seems not to have settled on the term for good, because we soon find her using *vos* in talking to him,⁸⁹ and shortly afterwards she is again addressing him with *tú*⁹⁰ which she abandons once more for *vos*.⁹¹ The gypsies in this novela address Andrés with either *tú* or *vos* as they see fit. This changing from one form to the other by them without any obvious reason would seem to indicate that among these folk there was either an indiscriminate, or a careless, employment of the two pronouns.

Another change that takes place without license occurs in *La ilustre fregona*. Lope and Tomás who have regularly used *vos* in their conversation with each other suddenly abandon this form for *tú*.⁹² Some time later Tomás again changes the pronouns and addresses Lope with *vos*,⁹³ to which, however, the latter replies with *tú*.⁹⁴

In the same piece, when Costanza begins to accept the advances of Tomás as a lover she drops her usual *vos* for a more affectionate *tú*.⁹⁵

There is a change occurring in the *Novelas* that is of interest, not from *vos* to *tú*, but from *vuesa señoría* to *vos*, in *La señora*

⁸⁵ Facs., p. 223.

⁸⁶ Facs., p. 224.

⁸⁷ Facs., p. 107.

⁸⁸ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 56.

⁸⁹ *Id.*, IX, p. 62.

⁹⁰ *Id.*, IX, p. 74.

⁹¹ *Id.*, IX, p. 76.

⁹² *Id.*, IX, p. 259.

⁹³ *Id.*, IX, p. 294.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 303.

Cornelia. It is the only case where the term *señoría* occurs, and immediately following it Cervantes takes the pains to insert parenthetically, "que ésta es la moda de Italia" (as also in *Persiles*, I. I, cap. V). Don Lorenzo with extreme politeness addresses don Juan with *vuesa señoría*, which he later supplants with *vos*.⁹⁶

With regard to the use of *vuestra merced* the authorities are much more in accord than they are respecting the two pronouns just discussed. All are agreed that *vuestra merced* was used as a courteous term of respect and consideration.

Salazar only mentions *vuestra merced* as being used ". . . A gente de calidad."⁹⁷

Juan de Luna is more analytical in his treatment of the form: "*Vuesaste, vuesa merced, vuestra merced*, que significan una misma cosa y no se muda (según algunos piensan), pero esta mudanza viene de parte de él que habla, que si es de los más ladinos dice *vuesaste*, el común *vuesa merced*, y los rústicos *vuestra merced*. El cual título se da todos grandes y pequeños . . . a los eclesiásticos se dice *vuesa merced*, como al común de legos."⁹⁸

Clemencín says of *vuestra merced*, "Era común de cortesía y consideración entre iguales, y aun de respeto hacia los superiores."⁹⁹

Correas says, "De *merced* usamos a las personas a quienes respetamos, y debemos o queremos dar honra."¹⁰⁰

Cejador is in perfect agreement with Clemencín.¹⁰¹

In the *Novelas ejemplares* there are plenty of cases where *vuestra merced* is directed with deference and respect to someone of superior rank, as where Preciosa speaks to the "Teniente," in *La gitanilla*;¹⁰² and the robbers to their chief, in *Rinconete y Cortadillo*.¹⁰³

But more often *vuestra merced* is employed simply as a courteous and polite form of address, being used between equals,

⁹⁶ Facs., p. 230.

⁹⁷ Salazar, *Expexo general*, quoted by Rodríguez Marín in *Don Quijote*, III, p. 448.

⁹⁸ Juan de Luna, *Diálogos familiares*, dialogue I.

⁹⁹ Clemencín, *Don Quijote*, VII, note to chap. XL.

¹⁰⁰ Correas, *Arte grande*, p. 233.

¹⁰¹ Cejador, *La lengua de Cervantes*, p. 1154.

¹⁰² Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 33.

¹⁰³ *Id.*, IX, p. 174.

or to anyone to whom the speaker does not wish to be abrupt or impolite. Thus it is the form we find used by the two "pícaros," Rinconete and Cortadillo, in addressing one another before their friendship has become established;¹⁰⁴ as a polite form Tomás uses it to the innkeeper, in *La ilustre fregona*;¹⁰⁵ the two friends, Campuzano and Peralto, in *El casamiento engañoso*, employ it with each other;¹⁰⁶ in this same novela doña Estefanía uses the same term to Campuzano;¹⁰⁷ in *El coloquio de los perros*, the poet, the alchemist and the mathematician address one another with *vuesa merced*;¹⁰⁸ in *El celoso extremeño*, the dueña uses it to Loaysa;¹⁰⁹ and the Licenciado Vidriera uses it to the "boticario."¹¹⁰

There is one instance of *vuestra merced* being directed to a parent. It is thus that Rodolfo addresses his mother in *La fuerza de la sangre*.¹¹¹

Regarding the vulgar usage of *vuestra merced*, Monreal remarks, "Los pícaros y valientes, que hacen gala de hablar zaíno, sincopaban las frases *vuestra merced*, diciendo *vuesarcé*, *voacé*, y aun *vucé*."¹¹²

The form *voacé* occurs in *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, where we find Monipodio addressing his followers as *voacedes*.¹¹³

The instances of change from *vos* to *vuestra merced* are rare. One such change occurs in *El casamiento engañoso*: doña Estefanía as a stranger speaks to Campuzano with *vos*,¹¹⁴ but later, when they are on more familiar terms, she uses *vuestra merced*,¹¹⁵ and still later, when they are husband and wife, she changes back to *vos*.¹¹⁶

There are also a few cases of change from *vuestra merced* to

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*, IX, p. 142.

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*, IX, p. 255.

¹⁰⁶ *Id.*, X, p. 176.

¹⁰⁷ *Id.*, X, p. 182.

¹⁰⁸ *Id.*, X, p. 331.

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*, X, p. 144.

¹¹⁰ *Id.*, X, p. 54.

¹¹¹ *Facs.*, p. 134.

¹¹² Monreal, *Cuadros viejos*, p. 183.

¹¹³ Rodríguez Marín, IX, p. 210.

¹¹⁴ *Id.*, X, p. 180.

¹¹⁵ *Id.*, X, p. 182.

¹¹⁶ *Id.*, X, p. 188.

vos. Rinconete and Cortadillo as strangers use *vuestra merced*,¹¹⁷ but later, when they are friends, they change to *vos*; ¹¹⁸ in *La gitanilla*, the old gypsy woman addresses the "corregidor" and his wife as *vuestras mercedes*,¹¹⁹ and a few moments later, apparently without excuse, uses *vos*; ¹²⁰ in *El casamiento engañoso*, Peralto, who has continually spoken to his friend, Campuzano, with *vuestra merced*, for no reason changes to *vos*; ¹²¹ the innkeeper of *La ilustre fregona*, in addressing don Juan de Avendaño, drops *vuestra merced* for *vos*; ¹²² however, he soon discards this for the former term.¹²³

If we are to conclude anything from this study, it is that, so far as the *Novelas* are concerned, the statements of the grammarians do not suffice. It seems that the folk, and even the upper classes, in many cases, did not discriminate in the choice of a pronoun. We may feel, on the other hand, that there was a guiding force which determined the general usage of the forms of address. That this was influenced and varied by circumstances there can be little doubt, but, even at that, we must realize, if we may be allowed to judge from the *Novelas ejemplares*, that the explanations of the "authorities" are too meager to embrace comprehensively the uses of the forms of address prevalent at the time of Cervantes.

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¹¹⁷ *Id.*, IX, p. 142.

¹¹⁸ *Id.*, IX, p. 158.

¹¹⁹ *Id.*, IX, p. 119.

¹²⁰ *Id.*, IX, p. 120.

¹²¹ *Id.*, X, p. 203.

¹²² *Id.*, IX, p. 332.

¹²³ *Id.*, IX, p. 332.

THE ORIGINALITY OF DANIELLO

IT is generally known that Bernardino Daniello in his *Della poetica* was one of the first of the sixteenth-century critics to state many of the problems which later assumed such proportions in the domain of theoretical discussion. I do not believe, however, that Daniello's contribution to this field has been sufficiently stressed. As everyone knows, he is the first modern to write an independent treatise on poetry, in which, to be sure, he shows himself conversant with Aristotle, Horace, and the other ancients. He is the first writer to allude to the Aristotelian notion of ideal imitation.¹ He is the first to follow Aristotle's comparison of poet and historian, and the first to develop the points of similarity, as Scaliger, Ronsard and others later did. He recalls to one's mind Castelvetro's statement that poetry is the "rassomiglianza d'istoria," when he observes that "gli antichi sapienti chiamarono Poetica soluta l'Historia." Daniello is responsible for the projection of the question whether a poet was distinguished from the historian owing to the fact that he wrote in verse. He initiates the discussion of the purpose of poetry,² enunciating the Horatian precept of its didactic and pleasurable aim. Daniello is the first modern writer to mention verisimilitude.³ His defence of poetry anticipates many others that were to follow. His statement of the realm of poetry is assuredly the seed of similar ideas of the comprehensiveness of poetry later expressed by so many theorists, such as Muzio, Scaliger, and Castelvetro.

Daniello, doubtless, was somewhat responsible for turning the tide toward the feeling that the epic should describe, as Horace had contended, events of war and the deeds of great kings and generals, an opinion with which later theorists, such as Trissino, Scaliger, and Ronsard, were in accord. He is thus the

¹ Prof. Spingarn has already mentioned this point. Cf. *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, p. 28.

² Cf. my article in *Romanic Review*, XII, 1 (1921).

³ *Della poetica*, p. 78.

first to hit upon the keynote of the Renaissance conception of the epic hero, as Professor Spingarn has already pointed out.

Daniello is no doubt the first modern to state fairly concisely the differentiation between comedy and tragedy. When Daniello mentions five acts as the limit of comedy, and states that not more than two or three persons should be talking on the stage at the same time, he is enunciating principles discussed as late as d'Aubignac in the seventeenth century. Another much discussed question—that of the portrayal of a deity on the stage, and somewhat connected with the *deus ex machina* idea—seems to be categorically launched by Daniello.

He is the first to discuss the problem of what meter the Italian should employ in the epic poem to accord with the gravity of the lofty style required in such a poem.⁴ Daniello was perhaps the first modern to employ *versi sciolti* in the epic, although it had been previously employed in tragedy. Daniello translated the second book of the *Aeneid* into Italian in *versi sciolti* in 1545. It is usually said that Trissino was the first to employ this form in the heroic poem, in his *Italia liberata*, which was published in 1547, two years after Daniello's translation. Alamanni, whose name is linked with that of Trissino for the honor of being the first to employ this form, did not conceive the idea of writing *l'Avarchide* until 1548. The first redaction dates from 1554, although the work was not published until 1570. Annibal Caro's famous translation of the *Aeneid* was finished about the time of his death (1566), but not published until 1581. Daniello accordingly antedates the publication of all three by a period of years.

It would seem, then, that somewhat greater importance should be accorded Daniello in the history of sixteenth-century criticism than has been the case, for he is in many ways an original spirit.

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⁴ Cf. my article in *Modern Language Notes*, December, 1921.

THE CONSTRUCTION *HABERE*-WITH-INFINITIVE IN ALCUIN, AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE FUTURE

SINCE the principal means of discovering the state of the spoken Latin is through an examination of the written documents, we have tried in the present investigation of the *HABERE*-with-infinitive locutions (some 30) in Alcuin to clarify the situation as to its probable use in the eighth century. We know that *DARE AS* (for *DARE HABES*) gave *daras* in Old French. What we shall endeavor to show here is that in Alcuin's day the synthesized *daras* and the unsynthesized *DARE HABES* existed and were used side by side in the spoken tongue.

Although the Old French *daras* means 'you will give,' *HABERE* + the infinitive, from which it was derived, had not always had a future meaning. But the spoken Latin had evidently long shown an inherent tendency to adopt this locution. Philip Thielmann,¹ in the most important study we have of this question, tells us (p. 50): "hier begegnet uns gleich in der Rede Pro Sex. Roscio, par. 100, das erste Beispiel einer Verbindung von *HABERE* mit Inf. zunächst im Sinne der Fähigkeit." He goes on to say (p. 51) that this use was a departure from the stiffer, more technical written language; that Cicero had taken into the written language the freer, easier construction of the colloquial speech; for the construction had its roots in the Folk-Latin. Thielmann (p. 50) informs us that *DICERE HABEO* first meant 'I can say,' and that the construction with *HABEO*, when found at all among the classic writers, contained for the most part a verb of saying. It is among the theological authors, particularly Tertullian (called by Thielmann, p. 60, the "builder of words"), that the greatest number and variety of infinitives with *HABERE* are found.

DICERE HABEO meant also 'I must say,' and it is from this meaning that the Romance future is derived (Thielmann,

¹ Ph. Thielmann, "Habere mit dem Infinitiv und die Entstehung des romanischen Futurums," *Archiv für Lat. Lex. und Gramm.*, 1885, II, pp. 48-89.

p. 64). Finally Professor Grandgent² tells us that this HABEO construction with a future significance had become common in Italy as early as the sixth century. And although he quotes for us no sixth-century authors, this statement is very probably true; for when the seventh century is reached there is found an indication of the great development of this locution in the following line from Fredegarius:³ et ille respondebat "non dabo," Justinianus dicebat "*daras*" (Fred., bk. 2, par. 62, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scrip. Rer. Mer., II). Fredegarius is here inventing a fantastic etymology to explain the origin of the name of the ancient city Daras; in so doing he incidentally gives us an example of a Romance future synthesized. If such a synthesized form as *daras*, "you have to give, you must give," existed in the seventh century, the form no doubt prevailed to some extent in the eighth.

Bearing the fact in mind that DARE HABES had already before Alcuin's day become synthesized, we shall try with the aid of the following examples⁴ to show that the unsynthesized DARE HABES had not yet disappeared nor been supplanted by *daras*, but on the contrary that the two modes of expression signifying

² C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1907, p. 57.

³ Friedrich Diez, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, says (p. 490): 'aus dem 10. Jh. ist das vom Geschichtschreiber Aimoin dem Kaiser Justinian in den Mund gelegte *daras* für *dabis*.' But Fredegarius, and not Aimoin, is, as far as we know, the author of this phrase.

⁴ Examples in Alcuin having other than a future meaning have been omitted, as having no particular bearing on our subject. They may be divided into five groups; those having the meaning 'I have something to say,' 'I shall have something to say,' 'I had something to say,' 'I must say something,' and 'I would have said something.' In the 20-odd cases remaining, there has often seemed to me to be the possibility of a future rendering.

322, 194, 12: Quia multa tecum habeo conferre.

188, 127, 2: Vestra excellentia protectricem-amplectere et tenere habebit.

180, 122, 21: Plura vobis propter delectionem patriae habui scribere.

44, 16, 23: Illi enim habent rationem reddere Deo, quomodo vos ammoneant: et vos, quomodo oboediatis.

93, 49, 22: Multa tecum habuisset conferre.

There follows here a list of page, paragraph and line references of HABERE-with-infinitive locutions omitted in the discussion and bearing the meanings above indicated: 85, 42, 24; 127, 122, 21; 136, 92, 9; 141, 97, 29; 223, 141, 15; 263, 64, 5; 277, 168, 13; 278, 169, 27; 286, 173, 6; 292, 177, 11; 295, 178, 17; 310, 184, 19; 320, 193, 22; 359, 216, 33; 381, 237, 32; 410, 253, 8; 421, 263, 5; 422, 264, 1; 423, 265, 44; 435, 278, 19.

the future—synthesized and unsynthesized—were still used side by side in the spoken Latin:

Timeo, quod Ardwulfus, rex noster cito regnum *perdere habeat* propter contumeliam quam in Deum gerit propriam dimittens uxorem publice se socians concubinae, ut fertur (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epistolae Karoliniae, vol. IV, 179, 122, 26: Figures denote respectively page, letter, line). 'I fear that Ardwulfus, our king, *will* speedily *lose* his kingdom,' etc.

Quid plura *habemus dicere?* 254, 156, 33: 'What more *shall I say?*' In a preceding letter Alcuin writes *Quid plura dicam?*, presenting the regular classical future. These two sentences are obviously parallel.

Tamen volente Deo visurus vos, vel necessitate coactus *habes dicere* quod cartula conticuit, 267, 165, 11: 'However, God willing, I shall see you, or, forced by necessity, you shall write what your letter was silent about.' Evidently this HABES DICERE is in a parallel construction with VISURUS, and signifies the future.

Iam Deo volente medio mense Maio apud regem cogito esse, quia Laidradus, filius noster, *adducere habet* Felicem illum cum quo nobis sermonis contentio est, 322, 194, 11: 'God willing, I think I shall be with you in the middle of the month of May, because Laidradus, our son, *is going to bring* Felix, with whom our quarrel over the sermon is.'

Insuper et diabolus *habet quaerere* causas omnimodis ut impediatur iustitia et sanctae Dei ecclesiae protectio, 344, 207, 20: 'And besides, the devil *will look for* difficulties in all kinds of ways, in order that justice and the protection of the Holy Church of God may be hindered.'

Quid *habes* redemptori tui et iudici omnium in die magno *ostendere* si animas non habes tuo labore redemptas a diaboli servitute ostendendas? 348, 209, 36: 'What *will you show* to your redeemer and judge of all, if you have not souls to show that have been redeemed from the servitude of the devil?' The implication is that there will come a day of reckoning, the Judgment day, when accounts will be settled. If the translation were 'what will you have to show?' HABES would be HABEBIS.

Sed modo maxime obsecro; ut apud sanctos apostolos et martyres Christi mei habeatis memoriam: sicut apud Sanctum Martinum vestri *habere* dulce *habemus*, 375, 279, 16: 'But I beg you very much to remember me at the (shrines) of the Holy Apostles and martyrs of Christ, just as I *shall* gladly remember you at the shrine of St. Martin.'

Misi quoque in ora pueri hujus (quamvis vitulus contra naturam rationale sit animal), quod ipse in auribus sanctitatis vestrae *habet mugire*, 401, 268, 13: 'I put in the mouth of this boy (although a calf, is a rational animal, contrary to the nature of things) what he *will grunt* into your worship's ears.'

Ideo difficilior in apostolica auctoritate sensus procul dubio saepius *fatigare habet*, 436, 279, 16: 'For the sense more difficult in apostolic authority *will fatigue* you often undoubtedly.'

Scio angelos visitare canonicas horas et congregationes fraternas: quid si ibi me non inveniunt inter fratres? Nonne *dicere habent*: 'Ubi est Baeda? quare non venit ad orationes statutas cum fratribus?' 443, 284, 9: 'I know that the angels visit during canonical services and brotherly assemblies. Suppose they do not find me among the brothers, *will they not say* 'Where is Baeda? Why does he not come to the established prayers among his brothers?'

Where did Alcuin learn to use HABERE and the infinitive with a future meaning? Not in the classics surely; nor, indeed, could he have found it in Anglo-Saxon. Karl Köhler⁵ tells us that no example of *habban* followed directly by the infinitive with a future meaning has been found by him in Anglo-Saxon. One possibility remains—the spoken language. So we again affirm that at the time the Latin people were saying *daras*, they in the same breath, and meaning 'you will say,' would use *dare habes*, just as Alcuin, when writing, said in one letter QUID PLURA DICAM, and in another QUID PLURA HABEMUS DICERE, meaning on each occasion 'what more shall I say?'

Indeed, that such an unsynthesized future form existed and was used by the side of the synthesized future form may seem unusual, but nevertheless is not unique. In Meyer-Lübke,

⁵ Karl Köhler, *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs . . . im "Béowulf,"* Münster, 1886, p. 47.

Grammaire des Langues Romanes, II, par. 112, there is found the following statement: "il [l'infinitif] s'emploie en ancien espagnol, Ex.: los que *han lidiar*, Cid, par. 3523, et de même chez Berceo, dans l'*Alexandre*, partout à côté des formes ordinaires: de nos jours, on l'entend encore dans l'asturien, et de tout temps il a été d'usage courant dans le parler populaire du Portugal." So here we see demonstrated that two futures having the same origin, one synthesized, the other not, can be employed concurrently; and such a condition of affairs was probably general at the time of the preliterate Romance, according to the evidence gathered from Alcuin.

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* Although the examples of this locution in other eighth-century authors are rare, we can see why Alcuin, more than others, used it in his letters; for these letters are practically conversations with his correspondents. The subject-matter is personal, the style fluent and spontaneous, the author emotionally stirred and evidently speaking from his heart when he admonishes or laments (and there is hardly a letter in which he is not doing either one or the other). What examples could not other eighth century authors offer, when Alcuin, one of the *savants* of his day, is influenced by the *rusticitate* (p. 285, M. G. H. E. K. IV.) of the people of Tours!

REVIEWS

Spanish Literature. A Primer. By James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1922.

According to the preface this Primer is intended to meet the needs of foreign students because this was not had in view in the author's earlier *History of Spanish Literature*, which, in its Spanish version, was more particularly suitable for natives.

"There are" [the author tells us] "a certain number of points which would not be familiar even to natives, such as the absence of metrical system that characterizes the early Spanish *cantares de gesta*, and the veering to the opposite extreme under Boscan's leadership. . . . It is conceivable that we may be able to draw up a work from which no characteristic name shall be omitted and yet which shall suggest the skeleton and the flesh and blood beneath its housings and trappings. In a word, it is our hope to give a fair answer to any fair question on the intellectual life of Spain."

If one may be permitted to form an opinion of this primer by its treatment of the medieval period of Spanish literature, for the elucidation of which the critical research of the past fifty years has doubtless done more than for the later periods, one can hardly say that the author's hope has been fulfilled. While it is true that few if any characteristic names have been omitted, it is also true that not enough care has been taken to enlighten the student regarding the position occupied by literary movements and by the great writers in the general scheme of the social and intellectual life of their country. Yet this, far more than a comparatively complete list of names and titles, is what a primer should offer to the student of literature. In more than one instance, one cannot but wonder what sources of information the author had in mind.

Much space is devoted in the first chapter, as in the preface, to stressing the metrical anarchy of the *Poema del Cid* and its independence of French influence, as claimed by Ramón Menéndez Pidal; but no consideration is even suggested of the position of this work in the history of Spanish heroic poetry as compared with that of France and Germany. Yet the question naturally presents itself to any one familiar with French or German literature whether the *Cid*-poem is really the representative of a large number of similar narratives all of which are lost, or whether it is not rather an isolated half-learned product. Does it not seem as though the conditions of Spain, instead of paralleling those of France, were more like those of Germany, whose *Nibelungenlied* and *Gudrun* are isolated chronicle-poems composed under the prolonged influence of France?

The assumption that the author of the *Poema del Cid* was acquainted with *Garin le Loherain*, a composition of the end of the twelfth century, is not in accord with the view that the *Poema* was written before 1150.

One misses a clear characterization of the literary activity of the thirteenth century, the three distinctive features of which period, apart from the heroic poetry drawn from national history and legends, were: (1) the development of Spanish prose fostered chiefly by Alfonso X, (2) the religious and didactic poetry preeminently represented by Gonzalo de Berceo, and (3) the cultivation of a courtier lyric, partly based upon indigenous, partly on French and Provençal models, whose vehicle of expression was the Gallego-Portuguese idiom, used by the Castilian and Andalusian *trobadores* as well as by the Galician and Portuguese.

Regarding the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* ascribed to Alfonso the learned, the author remarks that it would be interesting to know why the King of Castile preferred to compose verses in Galician. The desired explanation of this fact has been accessible in authoritative and well-known works for the past thirty years. With respect to the legal code of the *Siete Partidas* the student might have been told that after its sanction by the *Cortes* in 1368 it became the groundwork of all subsequent legislation in Spain and in the Spanish colonies, in which latter its influence still continues.

Of Juan Ruiz we hear, among other things (p. 13), that "In his *cantares serranos* he transfers to Castile the *cantares de ledino*, imparting to them the savour of his malicious genius." The term *cantares de ledino*, which Fitzmaurice-Kelly used also in his *Chapters in Spanish Literature*, is without meaning. It is true that in 1875 Ernesto Monaci edited a few pilgrim-songs under the title *cantos de ledino* borrowed from Theophilo Braga, who, in his turn, had obtained it by means of an entirely fanciful interpretation of the words *cantos delle dino*, i.e., "songs worthy of him" (*d'elle dino*) occurring in the "Crisfal" of Cristovam Falcão (about 1512-1553). From Braga this spurious term for pilgrim-songs passed into the *Antología* of Menéndez y Pelayo and from there, though long since shown to be false, into the pages of Fitzmaurice-Kelly.

With regard to the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, which is assigned to the end instead of the first half (before 1350) of the fourteenth century, the author says (p. 16): "The *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* may be of Galician origin. Other fourteenth-century poems which may have strayed into the *Cancionero de Baena* are by Galicians, or by writers, like Lopez de Ayala, who were interested in the Galician School of courtly versification." According to this, it seems to have been the author's impression not only that the poem on the battle of the Salado was originally composed in Galician but even that, together with other Galician songs, it formed part of the *Cancionero de Baena*. It is hardly necessary to say that this is an error, as is also the idea that the Galician songs found in Baena's collection strayed into it instead of having been deliberately selected by King John II's official agent for incorporation as representatives of one of the three poetic schools then flourishing. Similarly unfortunate are the author's further comments on Baena's song book (p. 19):

"The poetical production of this period is represented in an ill-arranged compilation already mentioned: the *Cancionero de Baena*. This anthology was put together, not later than 1445, by a copious but mediocre poet named Juan Alfonso de Baena, who included the works of dead-and-gone Galicians as well as verses by contemporary Castilians and Andalusians."

It may be readily conceded that Baena did not arrange his varied material as systematically as one might have wished, but of what consequence is this point for the reader of a *Primer*? Would it not have been better to inform him, instead, that neither Baena's *Cancionero* nor any one of the similar collections of the fifteenth century consists exclusively of verse written in only one of the three poetic idioms of the Peninsula, and that this fact is in entire harmony with that unity of literary interests so characteristic of Spanish society at that time, and symbolical (as it were) of the approaching political consolidation?

The reader meets with frequent mentions of Italian influence, but nowhere is the fact clearly brought to his attention that this influence affected both prose and poetry of the period, and together with the rise of popular verse into the realm of literature and a fuller understanding of antiquity is fundamental for the development of Spanish poetry, lyric as well as dramatic, of the following two centuries.

Regarding the Marqués de Santillana, who was so commanding a figure in the literary and political life of his day, the *Primer* does sufficient justice to his interest in Italian letters, but passes over in silence his farsighted and generous efforts to promote the study and translation of Latin authors, efforts which won for him the title of father of Spanish humanism. Similar reserve is manifested concerning the celebrated *Prohemio*, one of the most important literary documents of the time, the first attempt we have at a critical account of the different kinds of poetry cultivated in the Middle Ages in France, Italy and the Spanish Peninsula. Of Santillana's *serranillas*, to which his position in Spanish literature is ascribed, we are told that they may be due in the first instance to Provençal influence. But why should they not have the same source of inspiration as those of his predecessor, the Archpriest of Hita, and those echoed, a further century back, in the verse of the Gallego-Portuguese school (e.g., *Canc. Vatic.* no. 410)?

On p. 22, Pedro Guillen de Segovia is represented as the author of a "premature attempt to lend Castilian verse a Biblical flavour." But what of Gonçalo de Berceo's religious narratives and Pedro Lopez de Ayala's version and explanation of the Ten Commandments, his *Seven Mortal Sins*, and similar compositions?

In the discussion of the *romances* (p. 24-26), which is largely taken up with the mention of chronological and bibliographical data, one would have liked to find a characterization of the *romance* as a poetic type and an appreciation of the peculiar qualities which have given it so distinct and important a place in universal literature.

H. R. LANG

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

The Poems of Leopardi. Edited with Introduction and Notes and a Verse-Translation in the Metres of the Original, by Geoffrey L. Bickersteth, M.A., etc. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1923, pp. xii + 544.

Professor Bickersteth's translation is successful beyond all reasonable expectation, even after his previous excellent translation of Carducci, and especially considering the difficulties of the task he has set himself here. He has undertaken to reproduce faithfully both content and form: the meaning of the words and the rhythm of the verse, as well as the rhymes.

Needless to say, the success could not be complete. The English verse, with its little rippling extra syllables, often disturbs the smooth rhythm of the *settenario* and *endecasillabo*, and it is impossible to make the accents always correspond. For example (xxvi, 20):

Tu stai solo, gigante, in mezzo a lei
Standest alone, gigantic amidst thereof

and (iv, 104):

In duri ozi sepolta
Deep sunk in stubborn repose

Not every line is beautiful; for instance (xi, 59):

. . . and turning
Oft backward in vain hope my grief to assuage

and now and then a *zeppa* has to be used, as (xxi, 53):

Come passata sei
How art thou fled from view

Slight inaccuracies in translating the meaning occur rarely, as: "Assai-Fortunato mi tengo," "Am I-Above all mortals blessed" (xvii, 102); and "Voi . . . *sempre vivete*, o care arti divine," "Divine beloved arts . . . *may ye for aye shed forth*" (ii, 65); "l'alpe" is translated "the Alps" (vi, 87); "già" ('once,' 'formerly') becomes "already" (xxxi, 12); "beldam" is a shocking word for "vecchierella" (xxv, 9), in spite of its etymology.

In interpreting doubtful or debatable passages Mr. Bickersteth has, it seems to me, shown admirable sagacity, but the following passages are, I think, exceptions:

I, 19-20: "Le genti a vincer nata—E nella fausta sorte e nella ria," "In good days and in bad—*Born to subject* the nations unto thee," instead of "Born to surpass (in good fortune and bad)."

Mr. Bickersteth has been persuaded by the lines from *I Paralipomeni* which he cites on p. 374, but that evidence seems negligible because of the late date of the passage, whereas the evidence of the "abbozzo" is important. Leopardi altered the text of the Roman edition of 1818, which read "Il mondo a vincer nata," returning to the words of the "abbozzo," probably because he had become aware that the word 'mondo' expressed an idea that was inappropriate to the context of his poem. The ideas contained in both the possible interpretations were familiar inmates of his mind about the time when he wrote *All'Italia*, as is shown by a passage from the *Discorso di un Italiano ecc.* cited by Scherillo (*I Canti ecc.*, Milano, 1911, p. 283), in which both ideas are expressed separately.

V, 31-33: "Le meste rote—Da poi che Febo instiga, altro che gioco—Son l'opre de'mortali?" "Though Phœbus please to drive his chariot sadly, are men's lives—An idle pastime?"—The sense is: 'Ever since Phœbus began to drive his sad chariot (i.e., from the beginning of this sad world) have the works of men been anything but pastime?' The poet means that games are not to be despised in favour of so-called serious occupations, because human occupations have never been any better than pastime.

XV, 34-37: "Vano è saper quel che natura asconde—Agli' inesperti della vita, e molto—All'immatura sapienza il cieco—Dolor prevale." "Vain is the knowledge of what nature hides—From the unversed in life, and better far—than wisdom gained untimely is blind pain—Pain blind unto itself."

Mr. Bickersteth has followed Straccali's interpretation, but cf. Antognoni and Kulczycki.—The meaning is: knowledge without experience is unavailing: it is overwhelmed (in the young) by unreasoning grief.

The excellence of the translation as a whole, the result of unstinted labour, extraordinary skill, and genuine sympathy, can be seen most convincingly in the beautiful rendering of *L'Infinito*. The following lines from *Il Risorgimento* (xx, 133-136) speak for themselves:—

E voi pupille tremule,
Voi, raggio sovrumano,
So che splendete invano,
Che in voi non brilla amor.

Ye too, bright eyes, all tremulous
With radiance more than human,
Well know I, knowing woman,
Ye shine in loveless pride.

and in the following splendid lines from *Sappho's Last Song* (ix, 9-18) one sees that the translator, who has willingly sacrificed his originality as a poet to the service of his author, finds at times an unexpected freedom that comes without being sought:

Us long estranged joy then only thrills
 When thro' the deep sky-spaces great gales blow
 And sweep the undulous prairies and raise storms
 Of whirling dust, and when above our heads
 The car, the ponderous car of Jupiter,
 Rolls rattling through the murky firmament.
 Us it delights athwart cliffs and deep vales
 To swim mid surging clouds; we love to see
 The vast stampede of startled herds, to hear
 Upon its crumbling shore
 The river's rage and long triumphant roar.

The "Introduction" is a lucid condensation of the essential facts in Leopardi's external and internal life: an analytical description of the stages of his development; an enlightening exposition of his principles regarding language and literature; an explanation of his philosophy: illustrated by extracts from his writings and especially by a series of interpretations of the *Canti*.

The best of these interpretations—for example that of *Il sabato del villaggio*—are remarkable for their true sympathy, and for a valuation of small details which in part only passes beyond the limits of certainty. Some others are disappointing. *Bruto Minore*, which Carducci recited on his knees as a boy, is dismissed with disparaging remarks. De Sanctis is quoted in condemnation of this splendid poem, but he appreciated it in spite of his own criticism; and it is a strange mistake to suppose that suicide is impossible after calm reflexion: De Sanctis and Mr. Bickersteth have both forgotten Cato. Brutus is an heroic figure and he is "fermo già di morir"; he is not arguing himself into suicide, nor is he debating the matter like Hamlet.

The whole Introduction has the stamp of originality and earnestness, and aims to present a unified and well-pondered conception of the *Canti*. It is necessary therefore to pass over the many passages which challenge criticism by themselves,¹ and consider the main theses.

In the third chapter (pp. 106 ss.) Mr. Bickersteth expounds his theory of the unity of the *Canti*, and of their arrangement by the poet. He divides the poems into two parts, preceded by three introductory poems and connected by means of a key-poem, *Il Risorgimento*. Each of the two parts has five subdivisions, which correspond in subject to the subdivisions of the other part. The order has been carefully planned, he thinks, by Leopardi, so that each poem depends, for its full interpretation, on its position with regard to the others. The theory is so ably defended and ardently expounded that it deserves careful attention, but those who believe that the basis of arrangement is the chronological order of the composition of the poems will remain sceptical.

In the edition of Bologna 1824 appeared ten of the *Canti* arranged in the strict chronological order of their composition, the tenth and last being *Alla sua donna*, written in 1823. In the edition of Florence 1831 thirteen more poems were added. These thirteen were placed after the group of poems which had been previously

¹ E.g., p. 8, where "grammatical and philological research" is spoken of as if it were unimaginative and barren labour. Leopardi's consummate art in the use of words and the construction of sentences would have been impossible but for his linguistic studies. Imagination is as necessary for these studies as it is for the appreciation of literature. Mr. Bickersteth is no doubt able to defend the statements that "Italian literature possesses no Bible" (p. 73); that "It was reserved for a Puritan nation to discover Genesis" . . . "as pure literature" . . . and that there was a Puritan strain in Leopardi's character; but he must have meant these remarks in a "Pickwickian sense."

published, and were also arranged in the order of their composition, except that *Canto notturno ecc.*, was placed before *La quiete dopo la tempesta* and *Il sabato del villaggio*. These three poems were all probably written in the autumn of 1829, but the two latter at least a month before the *Canto notturno*. Also *Alla sua donna* was detached from the first group and placed in the second, where it took its place in chronological order, becoming the sixteenth.

In arranging his poems for the definitive edition of Naples 1835, Leopardi left the first nine in their original order, except that No. 8, *Ultimo Canto di Saffo* and No. 9, *Inno ai patriarchi*, changed places.² These two poems both belong to the year 1822, but the *Ultimo Canto* was written in May and the *Inno* in July. As for the second group of poems, which again followed the first group, nine more were added to it, and a third group of seven short and fragmentary poems was attached at the end, making thirty-nine in all. The second group of poems was arranged as before, according to the date of composition, but *Il passero solitario* was given the eleventh place, apparently because it was first sketched or written in 1819,³ although it was finished in its present form much later, and *Consalvo* was placed seventeenth so as to seem to have been written in 1821, the third and fourth verses being altered to support the pretence. Thus *Alla sua donna* became No. 18.

It appears, therefore, that, within their two groups, the *Canti* are presented to us as if in the chronological order of composition, and, as far as the years are concerned (excepting the artificial date purposely assigned to *Consalvo*), they are really so arranged. Only in two places, in the case of poems written within a month or two of each other, has that chronological order been disturbed,⁴ and consequently—although the two alterations and the transference of *Alla sua donna* from the first to the second group are not insignificant—Mr. Bickersteth's subject-titles and balanced groupings of the poems seem to me unwarranted, and the comparison (p. 88) between the *Canti* and the *Divine Comedy* overdone.

The concept of the unity of the *Canti* as a whole, and of the significance of their mutual relation, is founded on the author's interpretation of the development of Leopardi's philosophic attitude, which may be summarized as follows: When in 1819 the poet became temporarily blind, he became convinced that life is nothing but illusion, and experienced that ecstasy of "noia" which is a sublimation of the ordinary feeling of boredom, a state of mind combining an extraordinarily acute desire for infinite happiness with a clear vision of the infinite nullity of everything. This is a state of intense suffering which effects its own "katharsis" (p. 101, n. 2), that is, the mind of the poet is driven to cling desperately to the glorious illusion of life as it can be imagined, and rebel against the conviction that life is mere illusion. The sum-total of the *Canti* represents the progressive conflict between desire and conviction, between imagination and the heart on the one side, and knowledge and the intellect on the other. This conflict ends only with the life of the poet, but Mr. Bickersteth sees in the poems evidence that imagination and heart gather strength, and, if they do not actually triumph over knowledge and intellect, remain at any rate undefeated, so that Leopardi turns out to be, if not obviously an optimist, certainly not a pessimist.

² This change may have been made already in the ed. of 1831.

³ "Passo del viver mio la primavera" (l. 26) is natural for a lad of twenty-one but strange in the mouth of a man of thirty.

⁴ The third group of short poems is not in the order of composition, but they were, as Donati says (Bari, 1917, p. 238) "accodati al volume . . . per mere ragioni esterne e tipografiche."

Too much importance, it seems to me, has been attributed to Leopardi's doctrine of "noia," and too much has been constructed on the foundation of the single statement that "L'uomo si disannoiava per lo stesso sentimento vivo della noia universale e necessaria" (*Zibald.* i, 351). The doctrine is shrouded in mystery, and that sentence becomes the explanation of many things: of why Leopardi did not commit suicide (p. 21), of how he conceived that a modern poet can write good poetry (p. 99), of how the poems were "made" "out of" *noia* (p. 99) and represent "every grade and shade of the 'passion' of *ennui*" (p. 105). The mystery arises from Leopardi's identification of the "pure desire of happiness" with the "knowledge" that "all is nothing." How can these two phenomena of consciousness be one in the ecstatic state of "noia"? The true answer is, I think, that Leopardi uses figurative language—no matter how accurate he may have thought it—in describing this experience, and what he means is that the ordinary feeling of boredom is only a sense of the incongruity between the real and the desirable, but that if one reaches, as he did, a clear intuition of the necessary impossibility of the realization of desire, one is conscious of nothing but the appalling futility of everything, an experience which he compares to the effect on a child of seeing a ghost, and which is more like the vision of a ghastly reality than a merely mental conclusion (cf. *Zibald.* i, 247). It is the acme of disappointment.

"Noia" itself, in any stage, is incapable of producing poetry: "La noia è la più sterile delle passioni umane . . . giacchè non solo è sterile per se, ma rende tale tutto ciò a cui si mesce o avvicina, ecc." (*Zibald.* iii, 383.) But from the objective vision of the "infinita vanità del tutto" is derived the indelible sentiment of the pathetic contrast between illusion and reality which is the subject of all but one of the poems of Leopardi and provides the unity of each. This is the "katharsis" of "noia" as I understand it.⁵

The theory that the *Canti* are the expression of a conflict between imagination and intellect is largely based on Leopardi's own aesthetic philosophy. The distinctions drawn by the poet, on the one hand between poetry of imagination and poetry of sentiment, and on the other between poetry of the heart and poetry of the intellect, are not always consistent, and his account of the difference between ancient and modern poetry is by no means adequate. Mr. Bickersteth attempts—unsuccessfully, I think—to represent the poet's theory as a consistent whole.

True poetry is always the result of both thought and feeling, and imagination is never dissociated from either. Leopardi was not unaware of this, but he was especially impressed by the comparative absence of introspection in the ancients, and by the importance of it in modern poetry. He therefore characterized ancient poetry as imaginative and modern poetry as sentimental. The difference, he thought, was caused by the realization of the unhappiness of the world, an experience which was proper to the moderns and foreign to the ancients. It was this experience that had converted him from a poet of the old world into a poet of the new (cf. p. 92). It would seem then as if Leopardi's main distinction were between poetry of the imagination and poetry of feeling, and he undoubtedly draws this distinction in the important passage of the *Zibaldone* (ii, 156–157), where he also declares that the former is real poetry and the latter hardly poetry at all. Aware, however, that imagination plays

⁵ I do not see in *L'Infinito*, as Mr. Bickersteth does, a description of the ecstasy of "noia," but rather of a state of mind in which the imagination, free from conscious control, approaches a representation of the infinite, a state which is less infrequent in children than in adults, and is a delightful and memorable experience, but has nothing to do with desire and disillusion.

an important part in 'poetry of feeling,' he distinguished two kinds of imagination: on the one hand the "immaginazione," a kind of sensory, care-free, childlike imagination, such as creates delightful but not deeply-felt figments, like the ancient myths, and, on the other hand, the "facoltà dell'invenzione," an intellectual imagination, which produces poetry of sentiment. This was a distinction that could not be maintained, for it places imaginativeness and sensibility to nature on one side, and thought and deep emotion on the other, the former approved as poetical and the latter condemned as unpoetical—sheep and goats in this temporary judgment. The distinction vanishes where Leopardi criticizes Monti as a poet "dell'orecchio et dell'immaginazione, del cuore in nessun modo" (*Zibald.* i, 131); where he appreciates the "affetto" in Petrarch—an introspective poet if ever there was one; and in the many places where he unites "sentimento" and "immaginazione" in his approval.

Mr. Bickersteth gets over this inconsistency by supposing that the thoughtful sentiment which Leopardi considers unpoetical is "romantic sentimentality," that is to say, false sentiment, and that the inventive faculty which is said to produce it is "intellect aping imagination" (p. 96). It is true that in his *Discorso di un italiano* ecc., written in 1818, Leopardi does draw a clear distinction between the false sentiment that is so frequent in romantic poetry and the true sensibility which is productive of good poetry. In this essay "sentimento" means *pathos* and "sentimentale" means *pathetic*,⁶ and the author is attempting to show that although the ancient world was less disposed to pathetic feelings than the modern, still, where ancient poetry is pathetic it is truly so whereas modern poetry deals lavishly in false *pathos*. But in the passage of the *Zibaldone* (i, 250-251) of July 1820, in which he describes his own transformation into a modern poet and says that, after he had begun to *feel* the unhappiness of the world instead of merely *knowing* it, his imagination became enfeebled and his verses "traboccano di sentimento,"⁷ it is evident that he is speaking of true and deep feeling and not of mere sentimentality. And in the *Zibaldone* (ii, 156-157) of March 1821, he is disparaging, under the name "poesia sentimentale," not false sentiment in verse but poetry of thought and feeling, including poetry truly pathetic like his own.

That conflict between imagination and intellect which Mr. Bickersteth sees in progress throughout the *Canti* is imperceptible to me except in some of the earliest poems, notably in *A un vincitore nel pallone*, where it destroys the unity of sentiment and consequently the poetry. Bitter expressions like the third stanza of *Il tramonto della luna* do not mean that the poet is struggling against his convictions, but that he is still as unwilling to admit the justice of the universal order as he was in *Bruto Minore*. On the other hand, *Il pensiero dominante*, *Amore e morte* and *Consalvo* are in a class by themselves. They are written under the influence of the poet's one great passion of love. Not even here are his convictions weakening, but he is temporarily persuaded that the greatest and most enduring of human illusions, love between the sexes, is capable of making life happy in spite of the truth that it is only an illusion.⁸ He promises himself that this illusion will last for his life-time,⁹ but

⁶ Cf. *Scritti vari inediti*, pp. 233 and 236.

⁷ In Mr. Bickersteth's translation, the words "oozed with sentiment" unfortunately suggest false sentiment.

⁸ Cf. *Il pensiero dominante*, ll. 107-111. "In molta parte" should be taken with "onde s'abbella il vero" not with "un sogno," in spite of the commentators, otherwise l. 111 would be futile. To embellish the truth is the function of illusions, but they cannot disguise it completely.

⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 120.

even in this belief he is soon disappointed. And when "Aspasia" disappoints him, it is not only his love for her that dies, but love itself, that illusion which he had worshipped in the abstract in *Alla sua donna* and in the flesh in *Il pensiero dominante*, and it never appears again in his verse.¹⁰

Mr. Bickersteth (pp. 122-123) holds that *Il pensiero dominante* is evidence of Leopardi's conversion to a belief that Love is not an illusion, in spite of the poet's assertion of the contrary. He interprets ll. 80-87: "*Sola discolpa al fato, ecc.*" as a justification of Fate, an explanation of the necessity of evil (p. 466, n. 82), but "*discolpa*" means *excuse*, and none of the lines quoted support the interpretation, in fact they imply the opposite. To see in *A se stesso* only a temporary despondency, and in *Aspasia* the survival of ideal love after the death of the passion for the lady, is to ignore the magnitude of the disaster which killed the only illusion that could transfigure the grim truth. To perceive in *Il sogno* "the feeling that love, as a matter of fact, does triumph over death" (p. 114), in *Amore e morte* an identification of Love (because it is immortal) with Life and Death (pp. 123-125), and in *L'ultimo canto di Saffo* and elsewhere a belief in "another world which sets right the wrongs of this,"¹¹ is to attribute to Leopardi a part of the editor's own optimistic philosophy, and we seem to see the latter arguing himself into doing that very thing in the sentence: "Yet the fact remains—and no one was better aware of it than Leopardi . . . that in the consummation of such love the puzzle of the relationship of physical to spiritual can find its ideal solution" (p. 125). This unconscious tendency to persuade himself explains Mr. Bickersteth's interpretation of *Sopra un basso rilievo* ecc. He says that, in this poem, Leopardi "considers the problem: why should beauty perish before it has achieved its purpose?" (p. 125), but the poet is only considering the sadness of the fact that beauty does so perish. The editor regards the lines: "Questo se all'intelletto—Appar felice, invade—D'alta pietade ai più costanti il petto," as a protest of the poet's heart against his intellect, but there is no weakening of the conviction that death is a blessing to him who dies, and that it would have been better not to be born. The poet does ask the question: Why does Nature so deal with us that even death, which is a mercy to those who die, is a heart-breaking grief to the bereaved? And the answer is (ll. 107-109) that Nature cares nothing for human joy or sorrow: she is preoccupied with other matters. So *Sopra il ritratto* ecc. expresses nothing but wonder and sorrow at the contrast between beauty and the noble thoughts and feelings it inspires, and death and the vanishing of those thoughts and feelings; for these latter do vanish with death (ll. 36-38), as vanishes a beautiful strain of music (ll. 39-49). The last words of the poem are, in the translation:

If part
Divine, how can thy [i.e., human nature's] noblest impulses
And thoughts with so much ease
Be roused and quenched alike by things so low?

and the answer implied is that they cannot, whereas the original implies no such thing:

¹⁰ Cf. *Aspasia*, ll. 78-79: "Perch'io te non amai, ma quella Diva—Che già vita, or sepolcro, ha nel mio core." Also l. 80: "Quella adorai gran tempo" and l. 85: "finch'ella visse."

¹¹ This belief is supposed to be expressed in the words: "Rifuggirà l'ignudo animo a Dite—E il crudo fallo emenderà del cieco—Dispensator de' casi." p. 114, n. i. In the note to xxi, 1, *ancora*, the editor says: "note the assumption that Silvia, though dead, is still in existence." There is at most only the poetical assumption implied in apostrophizing Silvia.

Se in parte anco gentile,
Come i più degni tuoi moti e pensieri
Son così di leggieri
Da sì basse cagioni e desti e spenti?

Leopardi says *noble* not "divine"; he says *how are they roused and quenched?* not "how can they be roused and quenched?"

Besides a belief in immortality, Mr. Bickersteth attributes to Leopardi the Christian view that suicide is a cowardly escape from suffering, excusable only in the ignorant, the "negletta plebe" (p. 124). But "negletta plebe" (*Amore e morte*, I, 62) is not a term of contempt. The poet is saying there that Love can make even the poor and ignorant, even a timid maid, cease to fear death; as he has said (in *Il pensiero dominante*, 85-87) that Love can make even the noble and wise prefer life to death. Leopardi's view of suicide was always that it is the defensible resource of the high-minded like his Brutus and Sapho.¹² He did not commit suicide himself for two reasons:—First, life was never altogether intolerable to him: what he called the "illusions" were very real to him in a practical way, from the pleasure of Neapolitan ices—for which he had a passion—to the great illusion of Love which, for a time, elevated him into the region of joy. Second, and far more important reason, the love of knowledge, the delight of being a clear-eyed spectator of the great unjust tragedy of life, his passion for the truth (to which he nevertheless applied such hard names) were all-powerful in him. Never did anyone love the truth more devotedly than he; the evidence is the *Zibaldone* and everything he ever wrote, and not least his *Canti*. He not only faced the truth, he sought it indefatigably and hugged it to his bosom. His despair is due to the fact that all his research and reflection brought him no positive, but only a negative view of the truth.¹³ That negative view, however, was extraordinarily clear; it seemed to him as good (or as bad) as a positive conclusion: there is nothing that can be known by mortal men; consequently, as far as men are concerned, there is nothing to be known. What seems to be is not, and there is nothing else that is intelligible. His poetry is the commentary: How sad and unjust it is that this is so! Ignorance, which he found to be the only source of happiness, was intolerable to him. The epitaph he wrote for himself: "Ossa di Filippo Ottonieri . . . Non ignaro della Natura—Nè della Fortuna sua," shows to what dignity he aspired. The heaviest blow dealt him by the obscure power that rules the universe, the destruction of his love, could not rob him of the satisfaction of viewing the whole bag of tricks with calm-eyed contempt.¹⁴

This, too, is his attitude in *La Ginestra*. Mr. Bickersteth sees in the poem a constructive doctrine of love among mortals, in which Leopardi "begins to rebuild that which in the Epistle to Capponi he had destroyed" (p. 128); but the few lines in which it is pointed out that the reasonable attitude of man to man would be an affectionate alliance against nature and the ruling power, instead of mutual jealousy

¹² In the discussion of *Bruto Minore* on p. 108, the words: "Riede natura, e il non suo dardo accusa?" are represented as the poet's "appeal to Nature" against suicide; mistakenly I think. The meaning is: What right has Nature to urge her claims in so unnatural circumstances? Of course suicide is unnatural, but what of it? In the note to xvi, 22, it is said: "the 1st edition read *il pianto* [instead of *il ferro*] and it is a pity that Leopardi altered it." Words that betray the editor's prejudice.

¹³ Where Leopardi calls the truth 'bitter,' 'hateful,' etc. he is not denouncing the truth he hungered for, but the negative conclusion which he believed corresponded to the truth, the "vista impura" (*Risorgimento*, I, 115) rather than the "amara verità."

¹⁴ Cf. the last lines of *Aspasia*.

and strife, are not an important part of the great ode, which is devoted to representing the spectacle of the helplessness of all creatures and the futility of human self-esteem; and to affirming once for all that the only dignified attitude is that of adaptation to circumstances, and endurance without boastfulness, complaint, or useless entreaty.

In the abundant *Notes*, a reasonable and not servile use has been made of previous commentaries. References to classical and other authors often indicate an actual source; sometimes they only recall similar expressions by other authors—a less useful service. Others are interpretative, and sometimes throw a quick, bright light on the meaning.¹⁵ The archaisms proper to poetical language are usually explained by placing beside them the Latin equivalent, or more often the Latin etymon; and sometimes the abbreviation "*Lat.*" is used also to mean that Leopardi's word is a Latinism.¹⁶

The following notes, it seems to me, could be improved by revision: iii, 1: *A che*: lit. "to what extent." Better: *for what purpose*, as the context shows.—viii, 40: *avari*: "greedy," etc. It probably means *niggardly*. After the fall of Adam the soil was cultivated only by toil, and produced thorns and brambles.—viii, 67: *riparata*: "*Lat. = rinnovata.*" It almost certainly means *rescued*, and if so is good Italian.—viii, 74: *oscuro*: "humble," "*i.e.* a mere nomadic shepherd." etc. I think Leopardi had in mind the darkness of the interior of the tent "in sul meriggio," in the glare of the noonday heat. Abraham was wealthy and well known, and had been exceptionally honoured by God.—x, 39: *aleggiava*, "... the breeze *fanned* the flame in the sense of *cooled* the flame." The charcoal fires in most Italian houses are fanned with a fan of hen feathers, without which there would be no flame. It probably means only that as soon as love was born the cause departed.—xix, 32: *a cui*, etc., "the grammatical order . . . is as follows: 'a cui il giorno si provvedesse all'umana famiglia non senza opre e pensier e corresse pieno, poiche non può [correre] lieto.'" But if so, to what does *cui* refer? The order is simpler: *Necessità diverse a cui non si provvedesse senza opre e pensier, e [così] il giorno corresse pieno (poichè non può [correre] lieto) all'umana famiglia.*—xxii, 60: *ancor tristo*: "also sad" . . . "It is better to take *tristo* with *desio* than with *passato* . . . which involves straining *ancor* to mean *ancorché*." There would be no "straining": cf. Dante, *Inf.* viii, 39: "ch'ì ti conosco, *ancor* sie lordo tutto"; xxvii, 124: *tuo virgineo seno*: "... Death's bosom must take the place of Aspasia's (who was a matron)." A disconcerting note: that Aspasia was married makes no difference.

The two Appendices—the first an excellent translation, with notes, of the chorus from the *Dialogo di Federico Ruysch e delle sue mummie*, and the second a useful "Note on the Structure of the *Canzone*," based on Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* and offered as a necessary preliminary to the study of Leopardi's *canzone libera*—followed by the Bibliography, complete the volume.

The Bibliography, "which does not aim at completeness," is nevertheless the fullest and best extant, and has been carefully prepared: it is a valuable contribution to the available instruments for the study of the poet. So much has been written about Leopardi that anyone could make additions to the list, under "H," of bio-

¹⁵ E.g., xxiii, 2 and xxiv, 37. In xix, 84: Horace's *vitiosa Cura* is cited for Leopardi's *negra cura*. Why not *atra Cura* in the other more famous passage?

¹⁶ E.g., xli, 24: *Commetti*: "*Lat. our 'commit.'*" But *commetti* in this sense is no more learned than "*our 'commit.'*"—In xxiv, 21, too, *famiglia* in the sense of 'servants' is good old Italian.—In v, 42 it would have been sufficient to cite the *Lat. insultare*, which has the same meaning as the Italian.—In v, 5, *s' = se* is not derived from "*(Lat. sic).*"—In ix, 55: *Il velo*: "The grammatical construction imitates a Latin ablative absolute." But this is a common Italian construction.

graphical and critical publications, but as far as the judgment goes of a person who is not a Leopardi specialist, they would not be of the first importance. Under "F. Correspondence" might have been included N. Serban's "thèse complémentaire": *Lettres inédites relatives à G. L.*, Paris, 1913.

I wish Mr. Bickersteth had added another list to his bibliography, a list of "reviews." A review, for example, like that by Bacci in *G. S. L. It.*, xxi, 422-434, may be somewhat antiquated, but it deserves attention, and often it happens that a review is worth many original articles.

To conclude: Mr. Bickersteth has presented us with a most accurate and sympathetic translation of the *Canti*, far superior to a mere translation of the contents—and a contribution to English literature besides. Also he has spared no pains to give us the means of studying the poems, and to represent to us the mind of Leopardi according to his own original understanding of it. If the present reviewer has been unable to agree with an important part of the interpretation given, it should be said, on behalf of the interpreter, that such matters are debatable, and there is no infallible oracle to appeal to. The result abundantly justifies the toil, art and learning which have combined to produce it.¹⁷

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Henri Bremond: *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours*. The first six volumes, Paris (Bloud et Gay), 1916-1923. In 8°, averaging 400 to 600 pp.

The first volume of this work appeared in 1916.¹ In it we find the following statement: "Ou les mots n'ont plus de sens, ou vous devez tenir la doctrine salésienne comme un des ferments de la civilisation moderne. . . ." Saint François de Sales an influence in the civilization of 1916! There were few who would not rather have declared that words had lost their meaning than admit the saint's followers to an equal place with the descendants of Machiavelli, of Campanella, or of Charles the Fifth.

But M. Bremond's estimate of François de Sales is typical of the calm faith of which he is the historian, and the appreciation is one of those in which he seems

¹⁷ The following list of misprints, etc., may serve for another edition: p. 11, "il gobbo de Leopardi" for *de Leopardi*; p. 93, n. 1, "Zibald. i, 249," for *i*, 249-251; p. 102, "the first eported" for *reported*; p. 152, l. 167, "Il seno" for *In seno*; p. 168, l. 36, "quando" for *quanto*; p. 172, l. 9, "et" for *e*; p. 280, xxv, l. 7, a period omitted at end of line; p. 393, No. iv "all except xvii" for *xviii*; p. 397, n. 36-7, "quando" for *quanto*; p. 422, n. 15-6, "the gen." for the *dat.*; p. 451, n. 5, "soglio" for *soglia*; p. 452, n. 41, "Combattata" for *Combattuta*; p. 457, n. 121, "ineffabile" for *ineffabili*; p. 471, n. 2, *per* omitted in "mi scriveste non so che *per* darmi a intendere . . ."; p. 499, n. 8, "(Purg. xxii, 20)" for *Purg. xxiii, 120*. On p. 34, "Tozzetti-Targioni" for *Targioni-Tozzetti*, and pp. 464, No. xxvi; 467, n. 126; 479, n. 197-8, "Tozzetti."

¹ The titles are as follows: I. *L'Humanisme dévot (1580-1660)*, 1916.—II. *L'Invasion mystique (1590-1620)*, 1916.—III. *La Conquête mystique: L'École française*, 1923.—IV. *La Conquête mystique: L'École de Port-Royal*, 1920.—V. *La Conquête mystique: L'École du père Lallemant et la tradition mystique dans la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1920.—VI. *La Conquête mystique: Marie de l'Incarnation*, 1923.

In addition, the publishers announce: *La Conquête mystique: Autour de Jean de Bernières.—La pensée et la vie chrétienne pendant la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle.—La Relraite des mystiques.—Du XVII^e au XVIII^e siècle.—Index de la première série.*

The Second Series will be on the eighteenth century; the Third, on the nineteenth. None of the volumes in the second or third series is announced.

like a spiritual writer of past times. It is owing to this thorough sympathy with his subject that he has succeeded in recreating an epoch and a *milieu*—which is always a considerable achievement. In France in 1916 it had even a certain nobility. We can only be grateful to those who, like M. Bremond, collect rare information. But is it not the end and aim of all speculation to formulate hypotheses or to divine forgotten *milieux*? M. Bremond reminds us of the beauty there may be in dull life with its "realities,"—beauty that we can seldom recognize so long as the life in question is our own. It is the scholar's duty—or his privilege—to evoke this charm, thus bringing us most readily to the bearable experience of reality, and its objective truth. M. Bremond's work is important because it is artistically creative, rather than because it is the only considerable critical repertory of documents covering its subject and the only available description of a neglected province in literature.

It is particularly addressed to a devout public, but contains so much that is of interest to students of literature in general that no one can afford to pass it by. The author confines himself very strictly to devout literature:

"L'enclos mystique dans lequel je m'enferme est bien au milieu de la cité, il a des portes et des fenêtres qui donnent sur la rue; je me mettrai parfois à la fenêtre, mais je ne franchirai pas les portes . . . Cet enclos est exclusivement catholique" (I, xiii).

He is not, then, writing the synthetic history of religious thought, nor, as a consequence, does he attempt to formulate the speculative possibilities of the subject. But, as he reminds us, "Non omnia possumus omnes": he sets down what he considers most worthy in the delimited but extensive field of Catholic piety, taking for his motto the sentence of Sulpicius Severus: ". . . dedimus operam ne is lateret qui esset imitandus." No one, to my knowledge, has heretofore tried to organize so large a part of the materials from which this present history is formed: ". . . biographies; livres de piété; essais de philosophie dévote, de morale ou d'ascétisme; sermons; poésies chrétiennes. . . ." It is not hazarding any offence to say that the work must be far from complete. But M. Bremond is not a cataloguer: he writes "ne is lateret qui esset imitandus." Perhaps his history is not greatly lacking, after all.

As to the historical exactitude of his chronological divisions, each reader must be permitted to judge of them by criteria of his own. There was, first, from about the end of the *Ligue* to the death of Saint François de Sales (1622), a renaissance of religious enthusiasm. This new spirit culminated in the organization that the saint had hastened, and bore its fruit in the period that ended with the personal assumption of power (1661) by Louis XIV. From 1661 to 1715: ". . . un déclin rapide que rien n'arrêtera plus." The soulless monarch was thus the hobgoblin of religious enthusiasm,¹ though not of polemical zeal.² In spite of the seeming paradox, it would be difficult to make out a case against M. Bremond.³ Besides, it is just this distinction between religious feeling and apologetics that must not be forgotten in reading his book—a work which might well be entitled *Les variations du mysticisme*. According to his own analysis, the author's first volumes describe a "floraison soudaine"; and such periods cannot but show a naïve directness and sincerity that

¹ Cf. Albert Monod, *De Pascal à Chateaubriand; les défenseurs français du christianisme de 1670 à 1802*. (Dissertation.) Paris (Alcan), 1916.

² Similar divisions have been suggested by other scholars, and notably by L. Aubineau, in his *Notices littéraires sur le XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1859.

will either discount theological subtleties or else interpret them with the simple interest of parables. M. Bremond, in his first volumes, is occupied with popular literature, and not with art for art's sake or with theology for the sake of polemics.

He gives new names to certain aspects of humanism; and in so doing he distinguishes very particularly between the popular and the aristocratic. Humanism has been, for most literary historians, a sufficient term with which to designate an attitude towards life at once erudite, artistic and spontaneous. The Council of Trent, which looms high in the background of the present history, was a council of humanists. But it was more than that: it represented the spirit not of humanism merely but of Christian humanism. M. Bremond hereupon introduces us to a third variety, "l'humanisme dévot," which he characterizes as follows:

"L'humanisme chrétien est plus spéculatif que pratique, plus aristocratique que populaire; il cherche d'abord le vrai et le beau plutôt que le saint, il s'adresse à l'élite plutôt qu'à la foule. Ces deux traits le distinguent de l'humanisme dévot. Celui-ci en effet est une école de sainteté personnelle; une doctrine, une théologie sans doute, mais affective et toute dirigée vers la pratique. . . En d'autres termes l'humanisme dévot applique aux besoins de la vie intérieure, met à la portée de tous, et les principes et l'esprit de l'humanisme chrétien" (I, 17).

It is not altogether certain that the term 'humanism,' as most historians will feel obliged to understand it, does not carry with it the connotation 'Christian.' In the world of Petrarch, in that of the French Pre-Renaissance, as in that of the Reformation, it is safe to say that the great majority of the humanists felt themselves to be Christians, notwithstanding their real admiration for pagan culture. Had their souls been as Greek as some historians insist they were, the Renaissance would have had but a stillborn progeny.⁴

But the Renaissance—and we need, for a moment, to forget the name itself in order to visualize the period—was an influence that exerted itself, not on a few individuals only, but on a whole society. And in this society Christianity was the only force capable of giving strength to those older ideas, in their second wandering through the world. The old ideas came back, it is true; but only as ideas ever can come back—transformed. Very few are the cases where humanism was a denial of Christianity. And so, it is perhaps not presumptuous to suggest that if we are going to make divisions it would be better not to say "Christian humanism" and "humanism," but to alter these terms respectively into "humanism" and "non-Christian humanism." Doubtless, Christianity was variously stressed by different men. But all who were strongly influenced by the new spirit were humanists, although perhaps professional theologians as well. The Council of Trent was, according to M. Bremond, the work of the Christian humanists. And thus modern theology, which received its orientation from that council, was not, as some writers would have it,⁵ the production of 'humanists' as opposed to 'Christians.' Rather, the Church had made humanism—if we except certain exaggerations—a part of

⁴ M. Bremond offers (I, 519-520) a couple of quotations that are too little known. The first is from a letter of Cardinal Bembo to Pico della Mirandola: "... de même qu'il y a en Dieu . . . une certaine forme divine de la justice . . . il s'y trouve aussi une certaine forme divine de bien écrire (recte scribendi speciem quamdam divinam), un modèle absolument parfait. . . ."—The second is from Roersch (*L'humanisme belge*, p. 6): "'Sans un secours spécial d'en haut—non sine divino numine—Pétrarque," disait Despautère, "n'aurait pas déclaré la guerre aux barbares, rappelé les Muses de leur exil et ressuscité le culte de l'éloquence."

⁵ For an authoritative discussion of this subject from the pen of a theologian, cf. A. Humbert, *Les origines de la théologie moderne*, Paris, 1911.

itself. But does not all this amount to support of the above contention, that there might better be no such critical term as "Christian humanism"?

The author's picture of the Renaissance as a whole is convincing evidence against considering it as anything else than Christian. It is his contention that the true history of humanism has not yet been written and the tenor of present-day opinion as formed by recent studies in that field would seem to bear him out in this. Yet he makes a statement that rather distances what we are accustomed to hear, when he says, in reference to the humanists:

"Après tout, qu'ont-ils inventé? Détail par détail, que trouve-t-on chez eux dont le germe ou la fleur ne se trouve pas déjà dans la *Patrologie* de Migne? En fait de résultats dogmatiques proprement nouveaux, leur 'nouvelle science' nous paraît courte. Où est la *Somme* de cette science, où leur saint Thomas? Bégaiements spéculatifs, aspirations et non pas systèmes. Burckhardt, insigne d'ailleurs, s'est donné une peine infinie à tâcher de les 'construire,' et le résultat est médiocre. La plupart des historiens de la Renaissance irritent fort quiconque n'ignore pas tout à fait la pensée complexe, hardie, vivante du moyen âge" (I, 3-4).

"Le germe ou la fleur"—the phrase is not too exact. But the statement as coming from M. Bremond is, even with that qualification, a sufficient reminder that our ideas about the Renaissance may indeed need readjusting. He deprives our self-glorious old idols even of that luminous shred of the divine which we were accustomed to think their peculiar characteristic: egoism, considered as self-realization, individualism and courage. But perhaps the most direct attack on accepted opinion is made in the statement that modern humanists, from Rapin down to our own time, and represented by such names as Sainte-Beuve, Jebb, and Croiset, find their prototypes more numerous in the Middle Ages than in the century of Leo X.⁶ But this is only an *à propos* of M. Bremond's; the whole emphasis of his study is on what he calls devout humanism.

We are inclined to think of the religious life as tinged with a certain shadow, and to feel that, apart from the maudlin literature of "books of piety," all the doctrines emanating from religious writers were, if not fiercely ascetic, at least formidable, because of the dogmatic gravity of their manner. We instinctively class religious books as the antonym of humanistic ones. To be sure, among the clergy and the "regulars" of that time, there are many examples of calm and beautiful lives. But we are likely to discount their importance for us, supposing that the calm of their lives grew out of abandoning all things worldly, and that the beauty was the exceptional beauty of sainthood, to which we cannot aspire.

It is somewhat disconcerting to find the doctrine of "civility" preached as a necessary deduction from the spirit of theology. Christ figures notably in Catholi-

⁶ V. I, 3-6. The facts about these matters have been set forth by H. O. Taylor, in his mediaeval studies. M. Bremond acknowledges his indebtedness in that quarter, as also to Professor Jebb's remarks on Gerbert in the *Cambridge Modern History*. But M. Bremond's new estimate of this problem is more inclusive in its bearing, and more challenging, than what we are accustomed to read. He takes up the analysis of Professor Hauser, and finds the study of man a worthy subject of attention, the idea of glory, the realization of the continuity of history (that the ancient world is a phase of the modern), and finally the ideal of beauty—that all these are to be found clearly outlined in the Middle Ages. "Non," he concludes, "rien de tout cela n'est absolument nouveau, mais à ces choses très anciennes, la Renaissance donne, pour ainsi dire, un accent nouveau. . . ." If this "accent nouveau" was pronounced enough to create a new spirit, then M. Bremond need not have criticized current estimates. But he seems to imply that the spirit of the Renaissance was not as original as historians have supposed it to be. In which case, we may well resist the evidence.

cism, while the sterner Old Testament characters have to a large extent set for Protestants a less "humane" ideal. The Dominican nun Juliane Morelle (1617) discourses as follows:

"Il faut aussi que nous parlions d'une façon douce, bénigne, affable, bannissant de nous toutes paroles qui ressentent âpreté, rudesse ou rusticité, comme fort éloignées de l'Institut religieux. Car, comme dit ce miroir de doctrine et de piété en notre siècle, le R. P. de Paz, la vie religieuse est une vie ensemble très sainte et très agréable: en tant qu'elle aime la sainteté, elle recherche toute sorte d'honnêtetés, de mœurs et en la vie; et en tant qu'elle est agréable, elle a en horreur tout vice de rusticité et malgracieuseté" (I, 361).

And again, Father Timothée de Régnier (1602) describes a gentleman in a way to which we are not accustomed:

"Anciennement," he says, "quand on voulait louer un homme d'honneur on disait que c'était un homme pudique. Le temps n'a pas effacé mais plutôt poli cette façon de parler et on dit aujourd'hui de meilleure grâce: c'est un honnête homme, c'est-à-dire un homme plein d'honnêteté qui n'est autre que la pudeur. La pudeur est un amour de sa propre réputation" (I, 361).

Part and parcel of this theory of conduct is Father Le Moyne's characterization of a savage in his *Peintures morales* (1640). One could wish that Pascal had not found in this picture a resemblance to the solitaires of Port-Royal. Jansenism would have been more lofty if it could have had at least the civility to leave to Christian optimism those social ideals which make prisoners who are "volontaires et sans chaînes."

"Le sauvage [says Father Le Moyne] est sans cœur pour les devoirs naturels et pour les obligations civiles . . . Il est sans yeux pour les beautés de la nature et pour celles des arts: les roses et les tulipes n'ont rien de plus agréable pour lui que les épines et les orties . . . ; la plus rare statue du monde ne sera pas traitée de lui plus civilement qu'un tronc d'arbre . . . La musique qui est une beauté invisible te demi-spirituelle, qui ne saurait être aimée qu'honnêtement et qui ne peut plaire qu'aux âmes harmonieuses et réglées . . . est pour lui une crierie importune . . . Il n'est pas moins ennemi des parfums que de la musique; cela pourtant est étrange qu'il soit tourmenté par des choses si douces et si bienfaisantes . . ." (I, 362).

An anthropologist could tell us better than Father Le Moyne whether or not these are really savage characteristics. But it was only a century or so later that the savage gained his "droit de cité" in France. So we are at liberty, as was Father Le Moyne, to take this characterization as a simple parable in favor of "civility."

And yet, to the mind of such Jesuits as Le Moyne, the inevitably repellent savage was not entirely condemned; for he was not predestined to everlasting torment. His perceptions were undeveloped and his morals doubtful. But Father Saint-Pé can even gloss upon the "O felix culpa" of the *Exultet*: ". . . l'heureux péché qui a mérité d'avoir un si excellent et si puissant Rédempteur." There is, we must admit, an abyss between this sort of thought and that of the Jansenists.⁷

Through all this reasonableness and almost "libertine" materialism, M. Bremond traces the influence of Plato. Le Moyne, in his *Peintures morales*, emphasizes the Platonic doctrine that by the contemplation of inferior examples of perfection we are educated, little by little, to an understanding of the divine beauty. But in the true spirit of the missionary he adds that ". . . ces lumières [i.e., these Platonic doctrines]

⁷ For this, cf. I, 362-372. Speaking of these writers, M. Bremond says: "Comme les jansénistes, ils ramènent tout à la théologie de la grâce mais au rebours des jansénistes, c'est dans cette théologie elle-même qu'ils trouvent la raison dernière de leur optimisme."

sont bien pures et semblent être plutôt du Thabor ou du Carmel que du jardin des Académiques." One feels that Le Moyne's zeal outdistances his critical sense. But perhaps we are to understand that he thought in harmony with the monk Yves de Paris, who maintained that "... notre âge eût rencontré de lui-même ce qu'il a reçu des premiers auteurs, et ... ceux qui ne font que suivre, auraient donné commencement aux sciences, si l'antiquité n'eût point prévenu leurs inventions." So understood, this somewhat untimely refutation of paganism by Christianity might prove an interesting document in the history of the "Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns."

A French translation of Father Fonseca's *Treatise on the Love of God* is definitely Platonic in its exposition of the rôle of physical beauty:

"Comme sur la noblesse reluit la vertu, et l'émail par dessus l'or, aussi sur la beauté reluit et fait une consonnance et harmonie divine, le beau corps et la belle âme ... C'est pourquoi ceux lesquels ont écrit les vies des saints et saintes vierges avec la vertu et noblesse de l'esprit, ont pareillement remarqué la beauté du corps. ..."

Finally, the Yves de Paris just mentioned makes a more unreserved use of physical beauty in his explanation of the soul's progress:

"... les premières flammes de l'amour ne portent que de la lumière et des chaleurs, ce semble, si pures et si accordantes à nos désirs, qu'à l'abord elles nous promettent toutes sortes de félicités. Mais si on s'arrête trop à cet éclat qui charme les sens, si on donne le cœur à un objet qui ne doit servir qu'aux yeux, l'âme, désobligée de cette trompeuse rencontre, souffre plus qu'un famélique ... Cela fait connaître que la beauté corporelle n'est qu'une ombre et un crayon d'une autre divine, qui est le véritable objet de notre amour."

In M. Bremond's description of "devout humanism" the most important personage is François de Sales. The saint has succeeded here, as always, in gaining the respectful sympathy of his biographer. But we are no longer asked to admire him as a great doctrinal innovator. However, in M. Bremond's opinion, he brought something new to religious life by fusing together two theories which had hardly seemed reconcilable: "C'est l'esprit de l'humanisme chrétien de Sadolet ... de Reginald Pole, mais appliqué délibérément à la vie pieuse et présenté à toutes les âmes" (I, 71). It is true that we are to understand here—as the names of Sadoletto and Pole would imply—a humanism "... dûment allégé de tout élément suspect": the chastened humanism that gave a peculiar nobility and practicality to certain decisions of the Council of Trent.¹⁰

The idea that François de Sales advanced much that was of doctrinal importance was notably defended by Dom Mackey. Here we find an estimate considerably different, consisting in a negation of Dom Mackey's view, but in an affirmation of the saint's originality.

⁸ On the contrary, this was none too evident a tendency in hagiography, since we are generally invited to an edifying contemplation of the saint's emaciation or wounds, rather than to admiration of his, or her, primitive beauty. However, M. Bremond reminds us that in the seventeenth century the favorite among all the saints was Mary Magdalen, and supports his contention with the authority of Raymond Toinet, *Quelques recherches autour des poèmes héroïques-épiques français du XVII^e siècle* (Tulle, 1899).

⁹ For the above citations, v. I, 378, 505.

¹⁰ Cf. I, 70, sqq. This reference to the Council of Trent is M. Bremond's. Such partisan estimates as those of Bungener are, of course, entirely opposed to these decisions. But the well-documented study of Dejob bears out M. Bremond so far as the Council's influence on art and letters is concerned.

"Sa nouveauté . . . est . . . dans le choix très particulier qu'il a voulu faire parmi les enseignements de ses devanciers; . . . dans les principes qui ont dirigé, soutenu, animé sa diligente synthèse; . . . dans l'accent très personnel de son œuvre." The doctrine of François de Sales was indeed original rather because of his practical application of it, depending upon his distinctive personality. On Sainte Chantal he inflicts such mortifications as only Mme. Guyon or her kind could have found reasons for surpassing. But again, he preaches tranquility of mind, since restlessness is a sign that one's feelings are not genuine. He goes far with this theory of tranquility, maintaining that repentance itself should be accomplished without uneasiness of spirit, else even self-condemnation could not be pure (I, 105-112). It is quite true that these ideas are to be found, respectively, in the Christian ascetic tradition and in the Renaissance transformation of stoicism. Yet does not this fusion of Saint François' amount almost to the very "augmentation" of doctrine that Dom Mackey points out?

M. Bremond studies François de Sales principally as a "Christian humanist." But there are constant references to another force in the religious life of that time that owns him as one of its greatest inspirers: "Si les premiers livres du *Traité de l'amour de Dieu* sont comme la charte de l'humanisme dévot, les derniers . . . sont la charte du haut mysticisme français pendant le XVII^e siècle." Both elements in the Salesian doctrine will be found in the writings of Jean-Pierre Camus and Étienne Binet, who are considered the principal interpreters of the saint.

One of the humanistic aspects upon which M. Bremond lays stress is what he calls "l'encyclopédisme dévot." According to its aims, it is to be divided into three sorts: moralizing (which the author considers typical of the sixteenth century), metaphysical, and objective (or scientific).¹¹ All his sources are in French, "et compilées par des auteurs proprement dévots dans une pensée d'édification plus ou moins directe." The numerous Latin works of the period he does not study. We are inclined to doubt that "encyclopédisme" was distinctive of the devout humanists; and more particularly so because M. Bremond himself admits the great influence of Raymond Lull in this tendency towards a "reductio ad unitatem." As typical of the Middle Ages, we are accustomed to think, besides, of the *summa*, the *treasure*, and of the more humble *bestiary* and *lapidary*.¹² It remains true, however, that the encyclopedists to whom he presents us have a distinctive personality which is engaging in its naïveté. Further, they are indicative of a changing conception of knowledge. We are offered an interesting problem, *viz.*, the problem of discovering: ". . . si le premier découragement qu'on éprouva vers la fin du règne de Louis XIII, devant l'immensité des connaissances possibles, n'expliquerait pas en partie l'orientation de plus en plus moralisante qui marque la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle" (I, 256). We are reminded that Nicole comes after Mersenne. Such writers as Étienne Binet and Léon de Saint-Jean may not prove very stimulating reading, and as "literature" they may be wholly insignificant; but the movement they represented is certainly of primary interest in the history of modern civilization.

Another characteristic of devout literature in the first three quarters of the seventeenth century is the love of solitudes. Certain passages in the chapter on *La vie intérieure* are well calculated to arrest the attention of the orthodox (I mean, didactic) critics of the literature of the "grand siècle," and might have furnished

¹¹ For this, see I, 257 sqq.

¹² The author is as fully aware of this as anybody, and cites Langlois: *La connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1911), for the benefit of any who may wish to trace the movement.

M. Mornet with the subject for an additional study on the love of nature before the Romantics. Guez de Balzac, Father Cortade, Perrin, Molinier, Nervèze, Brébeuf, an anthology of 1655—these are only a few illustrations for the phrase: "Il y aurait encore beaucoup à dire sur l'intelligence émue qu'on avait alors des vastes solitudes, sur ce qu'on pourrait appeler la sanctification du paysage." And he adds in partial explanation:

"Tout refluissait en cet heureux temps. Les ermites, balayés par la tourmente des guerres civiles, reprenaient possession de leurs ermitages. On saluait de loin avec piété, avec une malice mêlée de quelque terreur, leur silhouette jadis familière . . ." (I, 336).

What M. Bremond calls "devout humanism" he places in the period between the *Ligue* and the assumption of power by Louis XIV. By 1675, or thereabouts, he considers its best period at an end. Then,

"... les beaux jours de l'humanisme dévot étaient passés. Finies les hautes spéculations platoniciennes, bridée la curiosité universelle, éteinte l'ardeur confiante et libérale, assombri l'optimisme de cette époque généreuse. Les capucins de 1679, qui n'avaient pas lu le P. Yves ou qui haussaient les épaules en parlant de lui, étaient les contemporains de Nicole et de Bouhours" (I, 423).

But, however attractive this side of his study may be, M. Bremond is personally more interested in mysticism, which forms the subject of volumes II, IV and V. The period from 1590 to 1620 he characterizes as "l'invasion mystique," and that from 1620 to 1650 as "la conquête."¹³

This movement is represented, according to his division, by three schools: the "French," that of Port-Royal, and the Jesuit school of Father Lallemant.¹⁴

The development away from devout humanism seems to M. Bremond not only a demonstrable fact but a necessity in Christian progress. For his devout humanism is perhaps rather Christian than humanistic,—if one looks to its essential impulse,—just as the Christian Socialism of Oxford in the last century was merely Christianity

¹³ It may be suggestive, here, to recall that the works of certain important foreign mystics were at this time being published in France, in French or in Latin. They doubtless had their effect in promoting the mystic efflorescence of which our author speaks. Among them we may mention: Alfonso de Madrid (1587), Juan d'Avila (1588-99), Caterina da Siena (1580), Caterina da Genova (1597-99), Luis de Granada (1572-74-75-77-99), Pedro d'Alcantara (1606), Baltazar d'Alvarez (1615), Suso (1586), Tauler (1587), Angelo da Foligno (1603). But although these writers doubtless contributed much to the French mysticism of the seventeenth century, still we should remember the names of Bernard de Clairvaux, Denis le Chartreux (the "doctor ecstaticus") and of Richard de Saint-Victor (to name only a few). They helped to build up a doctrine which is not distinctly the production of any single nation in Europe. The designation of mysticism as 'Teutonic' is an obsolete dictum.

It cannot be too often repeated that M. Bremond is not attempting to write the history of mysticism in its relation to the thought of the seventeenth century. But his study will help in no small degree towards some eventual realization of that attractive task.

¹⁴ The designation "French" in this connection is not very informing; and volume III, dealing with that school, has not yet appeared. But the author gives us some idea of his meaning in the following: "On parle toujours comme s'il n'y avait pas de milieu entre humanisme dévot et jansénisme. On se contente d'opposer François de Sales à Saint-Cyran, les jésuites à la famille Arnauld. On oublie l'entre-deux si riche, un demi-siècle de sainteté, l'école française" (IV, 25). Bérulle seems to be the type best representing this tendency. M. Bremond cites Letourneau: *Écoles de spiritualité. L'école française du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1913).

with a new name. That being remembered, there is no occasion for surprise in M. Bremond's statement of the theory of mystic progress: "Le mystique est le dévot parfait; le dévot, un mystique dans les langes, mystique d'orientation et de désir implicite" (I, 514-515). But the two are closely allied: so closely, indeed, that neither can prosper where there is an admixture of a foreign element—such as Jansenism. And it is just here that M. Bremond seems to pivot his argument against Port-Royal. It is essential to give his own phrasing of the problem:

"... puisque les motions parallèles du même Esprit divin procurent également et la plus simple des prières et la plus sublime des contemplations, comment n'y aurait-il pas une relation, difficile sans doute à définir, mais réelle entre le développement de la littérature pieuse et de l'activité mystique pendant une même période? Si d'une part, aussi longtemps que domine l'influence de l'humanisme dévot, les mystiques proprement dits surabondent; si d'autre part la vie mystique, ou s'étiole ou se cache dès que triomphent des influences contraires, celle de Port-Royal par exemple, comment ne pas croire que la première de ces influences est favorable à l'épanouissement mystique et la seconde, funeste?" (I, 515).

It is the volume devoted to Port-Royal that will probably win the most readers, since it treats of a subject which—unlike most of the religious history of the seventeenth century—has become generally well-known. But the volume verges on the polemical, and is thus less pleasant reading than the others; yet it is a welcome contribution, since we find in it useful modifications of the unduly classic version of Sainte-Beuve. Sainte-Beuve's *Port-Royal* will continue to be read, but rather because it is artistic, creating a definite unity of impression, than because its author inspires particular confidence in matters religious. It is M. Bremond's misfortune that the subject he had chosen made this excursion into polemics inevitable, and so troubled the calm that he prefers, and that he makes us feel and appreciate. Sainte-Beuve enjoyed the great advantage of having had no formidable predecessor to controvert.

The diversion and error on M. Bremond's part are here inevitable, since Jansenism is accounted heretical and since M. Bremond is orthodox. I say "diversion and error," even though Port-Royal be a necessary subject in his history, and though I am far from thinking him wrong in his general estimate of the situation. One gets the impression—almost—that the "solitaries" of Port-Royal must have had very little of the humanist or of the mystic about them; otherwise they might have found their place more naturally in these annals of piety. That the solitaries are less attractive according to our present-day ideals of charity than the "école française" with its doctrine of live and let live, will certainly be admitted. But it would seem that they might have been described anew without any of the spirit of controversy that we here notice. Sainte-Beuve—whom M. Bremond sincerely admires—could well have been disposed of with any single appreciative but critical mention. And all the more, since the author of *Port-Royal* had admitted his entirely personal reason for undertaking the work, since he made no secret of his disillusionment and weariness of the subject, and finally since, in his conclusion, he voices both his personal disapprobation of much in Port-Royal and proclaims aloud a sort of *mea culpa* that should have saved him from attack by any except an enthusiast for completeness.

M. Bremond quite recognizes this however. He is always respectful in his references to the master, and he readily admits that Sainte-Beuve does not figure as an apologist for Port-Royal; but he considers that he was too far from the religious movement, too far from the persisting traditions of Catholic charity and Catholic

mysticism, to offer a cool estimate of Jansenism. Not that Sainte-Beuve was always wrong: M. Bremond gives him more than unstinted praise for his portrait of Hamon. On the other hand, we are offered a new and far from pleasant picture of Saint-Cyran. In most cases we learn to notice a self-centered characteristic in the men of Port-Royal—true to the life, no doubt, but which Sainte-Beuve lets us suspect without making us over-sensitive to it.

In his very first chapter, M. Bremond is not afraid to say that he considers the term "style janséniste" an unfounded legend in literary criticism. He adduces texts to show that a sober and clear style, unimaginative and even monotonous, was a favorite manner among the devout writers of the day, whether they be Jansenist or Jesuit.

He does not adhere to the commonly accepted idea that the moral doctrine of Arnauld or of Saint-Cyran was more strict and hard to practice than that of François de Sales. The humanistic "vertu facile" refers rather to the natural inclination of men towards goodness than to the ease of attaining grace. Thus Port-Royal comes to mean, not so much the practice of Jansenius' fatalistic but ascetic doctrine, not so much the apology of predestination, as a deliberate protest against the idea of optimism based on charity. We are referred to Yves de Paris's *Les miséricordes de Dieu en la conduite de l'homme* (1645) and to Jacques d'Autun's *Les justes espérances de notre salut opposées au désespoir du siècle* (1649); both are rejoinders to Arnauld's *Fréquente communion*.

The volume on Port-Royal and Jansenism is full of materials and interpretations that will prove new to most of us. And there is no gainsaying that even M. Bremond's aggressiveness is sometimes more pleasant than Sainte-Beuve's sobriety which occasionally verges on futility. Sainte-Beuve seems to have felt this as keenly as anyone—unless it be his savage antagonist Joseph de Maistre—and to have voiced his own dissatisfaction in the pessimistic conclusion to *Port-Royal*. His sole plea in justification—that he sought to portray those characters as they really were—cannot entirely convince us that six volumes should be given over to personages who seem hardly worthy representatives of their doctrine. For we shall do well to remember M. Bremond's phrase, "le jansénisme éternel." Its dark shadow had been seen in the world before Jansenius—or Augustine; probably we shall never have done with pessimism.

One feels too often that M. Bremond is condemning the heretical solitaries in order to establish a contrast advantageous to the devout humanists and the orthodox mystics; and he offers us sufficient proof that he may be performing an act of justice in revising this old case. But if we admire him for his courage and his information, still, in matters concerning Port-Royal, we find him a less urbane and artistic writer than elsewhere. But of his loyalty we cannot doubt. Read the chapter on Jeanne des Anges, superior of the possessed nuns of Loudun, in the volume on Jesuit mysticism. She appears there because of her connection with Father Surin. In spite of the neurosis that should have caused M. Bremond to palliate her transgressions, there is a fearless realism in his portrait of her that is more disparaging than his manifest disapproval of Saint-Cyran or Nicole.

The value of this new estimate of French Catholic life consists—it is worth repeating, since the quality is rare—is in the artistry of the historian even more than in his surprising documentation. The volume on Port-Royal is only a half-exception to prove the rule, and will be so interpreted by any reader who searches for new ideas rather than for pretexts to engage in hair-splitting controversy.

But there is more in the *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux*: there is proof absolute that our ideas about religious life since the end of the Renaissance stand in need of revision, and that our new investigations are likely to be concerned with mysticism. His work will revive our interest in a great epoch, in studying which we have been too docile to the teachings of certain super-critics like Sainte-Beuve and Taine. They seem likely to be unjustly discredited for a while; and after them will follow M. Bremond in his turn. But by that time we shall ourselves be nearer the truth.

We are at liberty to scoff at the "possessions" of Loudun, of Louviers, of Aussonnère; we can only be amazed at the sombre and cruel righteousness of the ecclesiastical judge Rémy; we may say that Bodin was great in his *République* and mad in his *Démonomanie des sorciers*. But we cannot be historians, with such a viewpoint. The society of that time was not shaped in our image; doubtless, for any one phase of it that we can rightly understand, there are at least two others that completely escape us. But it is decidedly worth while to study the lives of men and women who sensed or reasoned out the imposing doctrines of mysticism. They seem to have been well understood in their generation. For that very reason, they are bound to furnish us clues to a better knowledge of the period.¹⁵

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¹⁵ As an orientation for anyone to whom some phase of this subject may chance to appeal, a bibliography is here appended. In order to restrict the list as closely as possible, I shall try to avoid mention of most works not directly concerned with the seventeenth century in France.

I. AUTHORITIES ON MYSTICISM: Underhill (Evelyn), *Mysticism* (3d ed., N. Y., Dutton, s.d., c. 1912);—Goerres (J. J.), *La mystique divine, naturelle et diabolique* (French trans. by Sainte-Foi), 2me éd., Paris, Poussielgue et Rusand, 1862, 5 vols.; Matter (J.), *Le mysticisme en France au temps de Fénelon* (Paris, Didier, 1865); Delacroix (H.), *Etudes d'histoire et de psychologie du mysticisme* (Paris, Alcan, 1908); Seillière (Ernest), *Les éducateurs mystiques de l'âme moderne; Mme. Guyon et Fénelon précurseurs de J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris, Alcan, 1918); Hügel (Baron F. von), *The Mystical Element in Religion* (London, Dent, 1908, 2 vols.) (a new edition is printing); Inge (W. R.), *Christian Mysticism* (London, Methuen, 1899); Noack (L.), *Die christliche Mystik* (Königsberg, 1853); Jones (Rufus M.), *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London, 1909); Poulain (A.), *Des grâces d'oraison* (9me éd., Paris, Beauchesne, 1909; a new edition is in the press); Preger (W.), *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1874-93, 3 vols.); Schuré (E.), *Les grands initiés* (57me éd., Paris, Perrin, 1920); Rousselot (Paul), *Les mystiques espagnols* (Paris, Didier, 1867).

II. ENCYCLOPAEDIAS AND COLLECTIONS: Such well-known works as Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, the Herzog-Hauck *Realencyclopädie*, and the American *Catholic Encyclopedia* need no further designation. The old *Cyclopaedia* of McClintock and Strong is still useful. For the most recent Catholic interpretations of doctrinal questions the most available source is Vacant et Mangenot's *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, of which some thirteen volumes have appeared (Paris, Letouzey et Ané) since 1903.

III. BIBLIOGRAPHIES: The various editions of the *Index librorum prohibitorum* have to be consulted constantly in these studies. It is always well to have access to the most complete collection possible, since works which have once been mentioned are sometimes omitted in subsequent editions without, for that reason, being approved by the authority that condemned them. The best guide to the confusing bibliography of the *Index* is the digest of Reusch (F. H.), *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Bonn, Cohen, 1883-85, 2 vols. in 3 parts); L.-Ellies Dupin, *Bibliothèque des auteurs du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, Pralard, 1714, 5 vols.); also his *Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques séparés de la communion de l'Eglise romaine du XVI^e et du XVII^e siècle* (ib., 1718-19, 5 vols.); *Bibliothèque générale des écrivains de l'ordre de Saint-Benoît* (Bouil-

lon, Soc. typogr., 1776-78, 4 vols.); Dom Tassin, *Histoire littéraire de la congrégation de Saint-Maur* (Paris, Humblot, 1770); Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jésus* (Bruxelles, Schepens; and Paris, Picard, 1890-1910, 10 vols.); Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius recentioris theologiae catholicae* (Eniponte, Wagner, 1895, 3 vols.). For a liminal aspect of mysticism which cannot be entirely neglected, v. Lenglet-Dufresnoy (Nic.), *Histoire de la philosophie hermétique* (Paris, Nyon, 1744, 3 vols.). The last vol. contains an interesting bibliography, but without arrangement. The only available guide to occult literature in French is Caillet's alphabetically arranged *Manuel bibliographique des sciences psychiques ou occultes* (Paris, Dorbon, 1913-14, 3 vols.). It could hardly be called critical, and it should be controlled; but it contains the substance of the catalogues of Yves-Plessis, Stanislas de Guaita, and Ouvraro; Graesse (J. G.), *Bibliotheca magica et pneumatica* (Leipzig, Engelmann, 1843) is useful.

IV. STUDIES IN OCCULTISM: The following are for the most part interesting only because they are compendia of tales that were current in the seventeenth century, or because they relate the development of these beliefs. It is unnecessary to mention that the places in these books where the occult is discussed 'per se' can have little interest for one studying the literary aspects of mysticism. Bizouard (J.), *Histoire des rapports de l'homme avec le démon* (Paris, Gaume et Duprey, 1863-64, 6 vols.); Christian (P.) (pseud.), *Histoire de la magie* (Paris, Furne, s.d.); Figuier (L.), *Histoire du merveilleux* (2me éd., Paris, Hachette, 1860-61, 4 vols.); Roskoff (G.), *Geschichte des Teufels* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1869, 2 vols.); Hoefler (F.), *Histoire de la chimie* (Paris, Didot, 1866-69, 2 vols.); Cauzons (Th.) (pseud.), *La magie et la sorcellerie en France* (Paris, Dorbon, s. d., 4 vols.); Masson (A.), *La sorcellerie et la science des poisons au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, Hachette, 1904); Delacroix, *Les procès de sorcellerie au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, Libr. de la Nouv. Rev., 1894); Foucault (Maur.), *Les procès de sorcellerie dans l'ancienne France devant les juridictions séculières* (Paris, Bonvalot-Jouve, 1907). The following, although not primarily studies in the occult, are good examples of the type of work that is useful in the difficult task of estimating mysticism and supernaturalism in general in the life of the century: Kidd (Benj.), *Social Evolution* (London, 1895); Charbonnel (J. R.), *La pensée italienne au XVI^e siècle et le courant libérin* (Dissertation, Paris, Champion, 1917); Monod (A.), *De Pascal à Chateaubriand* (Dissertation, Paris, Alcan, 1916); LeRoy (Ed.), *Essai sur la notion du miracle* (in *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Oct.-Dec., 1906); Dejob (C.), *De l'influence du Concile de Trente sur la littérature et les beaux-arts chez les peuples catholiques* (Paris, Thorin, 1884); Delaporte (P.-V.), *Du merveilleux dans la littérature française sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Dissertation, Paris, Retaux-Bray, 1891).

V. SOURCES (The comparative rarity of these works makes it unnecessary to give the name of the printer, as one seldom has a choice of editions. I have noted the first editions in most cases): Bodin (J.), *De la démonomanie des sorciers* (1580); Le Loyer (P.), *Les livres des spectres ou des apparitions* (1586; also 1605-'08-'95); Del Rio (M.), *Disquisitiones magicae* (1599; often reprinted); Boguet (H.), *Discours exécration des sorciers* (1603); L'Ancre (P. de), *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons* (1612); Gaffarel (J.), *Abditae divinae Cabalae mysteria* (1625) and *Curiosités inouïes sur la sculpture talismanique des Persans* (1629); Fludd (R.), *Philosophia moysaica* (1638); Klotz (S.), *Pneumatica sive theologia naturalis* (1648); Glanvil (J.), *Saducismus triumphatus* (1661); Casaubon (Meric), *Of Credulity and Incredulity in Things Natural, Civil and Divine* (1668-70); Autun (J. d'), *De l'incrédulité savante et de la crédulité ignorante* (1671); Knorr von Rosenroth (Chr.), *Kabbala denudata* (1677-84); Thiers (P.-J.), *Traité des superstitions* (1678); Van Dale (A.), *De oraculis veterum ethnicorum* (1683; revised, 1700); Fontenelle, *Histoire des oracles* (1687); Baltus (J. F.), *Réponse à l'histoire des oracles de M. de Fontenelle* (1707) and his *Suite de la Réponse* (1708); Bekker (B.), *De betoverde weereld* (1691), published in French as *Le monde enchanté* (1694); Binet (B.), *Idée générale de la théologie payenne, servant de réfutation au système de M. Bekker* (1699).

VI. STUDIES ON PARTICULAR MYSTICS: Strowski, *Pascal et son temps* (Paris, Plon, 1907-09, 3 vols.); Souriau (M.), *La compagnie du St-Sacrement de l'Autel à Caen* (Paris, Perrin); Saisset, *Précurseurs et disciples de Descartes* (2me éd., Paris, Perrin, 1862); Lemaire (P.-P.), *Le cartésianisme chez les Bénédictins, dom Robert Desgabets* (Dissertation, Paris, Alcan, 1902); Reinach (S.), *Une mystique au XVII^e siècle: Antoinette Bourignon* (in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, Paris, Leroux, 1908-12,

4 vols., vol. I, p. 426; or *Revue de Paris*, 15 oct., 1894, p. 850); Sainte Chantal, *Lettres* (Paris, Plon, 1877, 4 vols.); Mme. Guyon, *Vie, par elle-même* (any of the very numerous editions); Masson (M.), *Fénelon et Mme. Guyon* (Paris, Hachette, 1907); Crouslé (L.), *Fénelon et Bossuet* (Paris, Champion, 1894-95, 2 vols.); Rigault (H.), *Les lettres spirituelles de Fénelon* (in *Œuvr. compl.*, Paris, Hachette, 1859, 4 vols., vol. III, p. 58; or *Revue de l'Instruction publique*, 13 mars, 1856); Bonnel (L.-A.), *De la controverse de Bossuet et de Fénelon sur le quietisme* (Dissertation, Paris, Hachette, 1850); Fénelon, *Explication des articles d'Issy*, publiée pour la première fois par Albert Cherel (Paris, Hachette, 1915).

VII. PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES: As a general rule these studies hardly serve the purposes of one primarily interested in tracing the history of religious thought. Yet various books and articles by Pierre Janet, James Leuba, Bernard Leroy, Morton-Prince, Myers, Jules Pacheu and J. Segond are most informing. The following are indispensable: Delacroix's *Études d'histoire et de psychologie du mysticisme*, already cited; W. James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, and Récéjac (E.), *Essai sur les fondements de la connaissance mystique* (Dissertation, Paris, Alcan, 1896).

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